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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

LITERACY TRAINING, THE STATE AND DEVELOPMENT IN TANZANIA: A STUDY OF POLICY AND PERFORMANCE, 1967 - 1989

by

VICTOR M. MLEKWA ©

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

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OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

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FALL, 1990

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Literacy Training, the State and Development in Tanzania: A Study of Policy and Performance, 1967 - 1989," submitted by Victor M. Mlekwa in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in International/Intercultural Education.

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Dedication

To my late Parents

Michael Musikela and Mary Ndinda
who made so many sacrifices for my upbringing

And

To all peasants in the Third World
who work so hard to earn so little

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to investigate how literacy training, as designed by the Tanzanian state, related to the daily life activities of adult learners and to the development programs and plans of villages. The theories of reproduction and resistance provided the theoretical framework for the study.

Two villages in Morogoro Region, Tanzania, were investigated utilizing a qualitative research approach. Data were collected through documentary review, participant observation and unstructured interviews. Six adult education coordinators, eight literacy teachers and twenty-two adult learners were interviewed. Sixteen party and government officials and ten village elders, were also interviewed to generate information on the socio-economic context of the study.

The following were the major findings of the study: (a) Different actors defined (functional) literacy differently: While the coordinators and literacy teachers defined it in a broader sense, adult learners defined it simply as reading, writing and counting; (b) the coordinators and literacy teachers pointed out that literacy training was directly related to the daily life activities of adult learners, but the latter thought that it had neither significant connection to nor beneficial influence on their daily lives or future prospects; (c) the coordinators and literacy teachers also indicated that literacy training was addressing the cultural, political and economic aspects of the villages, while adult learners did not see such a relationship.

The findings illuminate the limitations of state sponsored literacy training as a vehicle of individual and societal development and tend to suggest a literacy training curriculum which is based primarily on the needs and interests of adult learners. It is thus recommended that the existing adult education committees be restructured to facilitate greater people's participation in decision-making processes related to literacy training; that mass organizations be more actively involved in literacy training activities at the grassroots level; that literacy trainng be more closely linked with the regular system of education and the labour market; and that adult education methods be incorporated into the training curricula of extension agents to enable them to know how to handle adults while carrying out their regular work in the villages.

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

Background to the Problem

Since independence in 1961, the literature on education in Tanzania has been characterized by a strong faith in the capacity of education to promote development.[1] In fact, as early as 1954, the then nationalist party, Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) pressed the colonial government to establish technical schools for Africans, to ensure that every school-age child receive primary education, and to expand facilities for higher education (Komba and Temu, 1987a).

This emphasis on education emanates from the conception of development by the Tanzanian state: a man-centred process embodying not only increasing economic production and productivity, but also equitable distribution of wealth and the absence of exploitation; a break-away from the colonial legacy and economic dependency syndrome; as well as people's active participation in decision-making processes which concern their lives (Kassam, 1978). Consequently, education is regarded as a key variable in the growth of the human potential to influence the development process in society (Hinzen, 1979).

---

[1] The definition of development has been a subject of debate among scholars for several decades. In this study the term development is used in its broadest sense to include increased economic growth, distribution and redistribution of resources in society, reduction of poverty of the majority of the population, creation of structures for enhancing self-sustaining economic growth and minimization of dependence on major industrial states (Samoff, 1974:227).

It was in that context that Nyerere (1968:33) pointed out, "In order to properly implement the policy of self-reliance, the people have to be taught the meaning of self-reliance and its practice." It was also in that context that the role of adult education and literacy[2] training in development became increasingly appreciated.

The concentration of government effort on the provision of expanding formal education to children to the exclusion of adult population increasingly proved to be inadequate for the purposes of rapid economic and social development. Thus, Nyerere said as early as 1964:

> First we must educate adults. Our children will not have an impact on our economic development for five, ten, or even twenty years. The attitudes of the adults, . . . on the other hand, have an impact now. (United Republic of Tanzania, 1964:xi)

Ever since, both the party and government have played a decisive role in initiating, organizing and supervising adult education and literacy training activities throughout the country. During the national literacy campaign launched in 1970, more than five million illiterates (about 22 percent of the entire Tanzanian population) were mobilized to enrol in adult literacy classes (Ministry of Education, 1980). Thousands of Tanzanians, from different occupations, participated in teaching literacy classes which were located in all possible locations: health centres, church buildings, cooperative buildings, "pombe" (beer) shops, and even under the trees in the open. People who had been used to living in isolated homesteads (before 1972) came together to learn from one another through formal and informal interactions inside and outside literacy classes. In less than two decades, the low level of development of the country notwithstanding, Tanzania managed to reduce illiteracy from 69 percent (in 1967) to only 9.6 percent (in 1986).

---

[2] There has also been a long debate among scholars regarding the definition of literacy. Some of the issues involved in the debate are summarized in Chapter II.

In spite of these apparently positive and significant achievements, it should not be forgotten that there are still marked regional and gender differences in the number of illiterates: The more underdeveloped regions of the country and the more marginalized social groups, particularly women, continue to be "disadvantaged" (Sumra and Bwatwa, 1988). Second, most of what is known about the effects and benefits of literacy training in Tanzania is based on the perspectives of policy makers, or researchers utilizing the official state perspective, while the participation of adult learners in the planning process of the adult literacy training program has remained minimal. Third, the response of adult learners to the state adult education and literacy training policies has not been adequately studied, while the impact of the latter on the former has tended to be overvalued. Fourth, the unit of analysis of most of the studies done in Tanzania has been too global to illuminate the actual practice at the grassroots level: While these studies (e.g. Hall, 1975; Ng'wandu, 1973; Kassam, 1978; Ministry of Education, 1983) highlight the impact of adult education and literacy training on the development of the nation as a whole, they do not necessarily reflect actual practice at the micro level.[3]

Education and Social Reproduction

Different scholars hold different views regarding the role of education in society. One view posits education as an agency of social reproduction and its chief exponents include Althusser (1971) and Bowles and Gintis (1976). For Althusser, the education system is the most important ideological apparatus of the state. As such, it serves to reproduce the class structure of production, or the division of labour and skills, as well as the relations of production. Individuals are submerged into the structure of capitalist relations of production which give rise to a special kind of consciousness: Schools reproduce the knowledge, skills, values and ideology which enhance capitalist production and legitimate the economic system characterized by large inequalities. Within the capitalist context, this reproduction "is achieved more and more outside production: by the capitalist education system, and by other instances and institutions" (Althusser, 1971:132).

---

[3] For more details on the social, political and economic rationalities of adult education and literacy training in general, and in Tanzania in particular, see Chapter II. Special reference is made in the chapter on the uses of literacy in the peasant communities, while the relationship between literacy and socialist policies in the current context of Tanzania is further analyzed in Chapter V.

The reproductive role of education was further articulated by Bowles and Gintis (1976) in their well known correspondence theory. According to this theory, schools in capitalist societies function as agencies of social reproduction. They provide different classes and social groups with the knowledge and skills which they need to occupy their respective positions, in the labour market which is stratified by class, race and gender. They also distribute and legitimate forms of knowledge, values, language and the way of life that constitute the dominant culture and its interests. They do all that primarily because they are part and parcel of the state apparatus which produces and legitimates the economic and ideological imperatives underlying the state's political power.

Banking on these forms of reproduction, the correspondence theorists analysed the relationships between schooling and the work place, class specific educational experience and opportunities in the labour market, students' class defined cultures, as well as the relationships among the economic, ideological and repressive functions of the state and how they shape school policies and practices.

Although the social reproduction theories addressed an important issue regarding the transformative capacity of the school or any other educational institutions, they have tended to be mechanistic and deterministic. Well known critics of the economic determinism of Bowles and Gintis, and by implication the structuralism of Althusser, include Apple (1982) and Giroux (1981). For them, schools do not simply mirror the work place or the society. For schools have their own dynamic deeply rooted in the struggle over ideology. The school has some relative autonomy, and reproduction itself is not static but dialectical. Apple (1982) has, for example, argued that culture and ideology are produced in the schools, just as they are in the work place, in addition to working-class resistance to school practices. Furthermore, they are produced in a manner that is characterized by contradictions, opposition and struggle.

These perspectives on the role of education in society have culminated in the emergence of reproduction and resistance debate in the sociology of education. Giroux (1983) has, for example, argued that in order to analyse the role of education in society, one has to take into account the importance of human agency, the notion of resistance, as well as the contradictions and the struggles that exist in schools. Although schools operate within limits set by the state, they in turn have relative freedom to influence and to shape these limits. In addition, schools are not homogeneous conglomerates. They are characterized by very diverse forms of curricula and instruction, ideologies, organizational modalities and classroom social relations. Above all, the dominant ideologies themselves are not homogenous. They are diverse and contradictory just as are the different factions of the ruling class, the institutions which support them and the subordinate groups under their control.

The theories of reproduction and resistance refer mainly to formal education within an industrialized capitalist setting, characterized by immense social inequalities expressed in many forms including class, race, gender division of labour, access to political power, etc. Within that context, education was destined to prepare individuals to adapt to "the world of alienated and stratified work relationships" (Sarup, 1978:48) while at the same time providing a platform for the articulation of culture as well as the resistance and struggle of working class politics (Sarup, 1978:48).

Notwithstanding their racial composition and social stratification, however, industrialized capitalist societies have a stronger legal tradition, an extended middle class and enjoy greater control in the world system compared to the developing societies. The latter tend to be relatively more heterogeneous, sustaining a different kind of social structure and incorporated but marginalized, as a whole, in the world system. In such a context, the conditions for resistance may not always be there. This would be particularly the case in countries like Tanzania which are trying to build socialism and where the state seeks to use education for purposes of nation-building, promoting national unity and ensuring political stability.

Nevertheless, this study posits that it is possible to draw some implications from the theories of reproduction and resistance regarding the Tanzanian context, particularly bearing in mind the ever increasing integration of the Tanzanian economy within the international capitalist system and the ensuing social stratification in the Tanzanian society: In the period of transition to socialism, the links between the Tanzanian economy and international capital have not only been retained, they are in fact becoming even stronger, complicating further the struggle for economic independence (Shivji, 1970, 1975; Kweka, 1987; Chama cha Mapinduzi-CCM, 1988; Maganya and Othman, 1989).

Within the country, there are ongoing struggles and tensions between peasants and workers on the one hand, and the state bureaucratic bourgeoisie on the other (Mihyo, 1975; Mapolu, 1976, 1986; Shivji, 1986). Furthermore, the Tanzanian society is highly heterogeneous in terms of class formation, racial and ethnic composition, religious affiliation,[4] regional imbalances, urban-rural differentiation, gender division of labour, as well as access to knowledge and political power. Studies by Carnoy and Samoff (forthcoming) and Lind (1988) have illuminated various contradictions in the transition states. With a focus on Tanzania, Samoff (forthcoming) has, for instance, made the following observations, among many others:

> At first glance the educational agenda in Tanzania seems to revolve around tensions among the need to develop higher level skills, public demand for school expansion, and the national commitment to reduce inequalities. . . . however, attention to reproduction, contradiction, and resistance in Tanzania education reveals an underlying conflict: that in which initiatives toward socialist

---

[4] A great deal of success has been achieved in playing down racial, ethnic and religious differences and Tanzania continues to enjoy political stability and unity, rare to find in many societies.

> construction confront efforts to entrench peripheral capitalism. (p. 241)

Within such a context, while the state may strive to use adult education and literacy training for various reasons, including state legitimation and increasing production of cash crops for export to earn more foreign currency, etc., the peasants and workers, on the other hand, may have different perceptions and priorities dictated by both objective and subjective circumstances.

Theories of reproduction and resistance were therefore considered to be appropriate, in spite of their limitations, for providing a general theoretical framework for the research project undertaken. It was postulated that in the final analysis, individual adult learners would have different reasons not only for going to literacy classes but also for wanting to be literate (Knowles, 1988). Similarly, the response of each village to state-sponsored literacy training policies, as well as the implications for development, would differ in time and place (Carron et al., 1989). The difference in response would be accounted for by many factors including the historical evolution of the villages and people's experience accumulated over time, demographic characteristics and cultural patterns of the societies, production and material base of the villages, political organization and leadership style including levels of people's participation in policy formulation, and the manner in which literacy training was introduced and had been implemented in the area.

Statement of the Problem

This study was designed to investigate how literacy training, as designed by the state, relates to the daily life activities of the adult learners and to the development programs and plans of the village. Specifically, the study sought to analyse two main relationships: the relationship between the state adult education and literacy training policies and the daily life activities of individual adult learners and, second, the relationship between the state adult education and literacy training policies and the development activities of the village. Empirical investigations were guided by the following research questions:

1) **What is the relationship between state literacy training policies and the daily life activities of adult learners?**

This question was based on the assumption that literacy cannot contribute to development, and thus cannot be valued by adult learners, unless it is considered to be of practical use in the daily life activities of the people. The question of how adult education, and particularly literacy training, is connected with the process of capital accumulation and state legitimation at the village level was considered to be important. As Crone (1978) argued, in a rural environment, most adults would consider problems of health, nutrition, agriculture, income generation and general improvement in standards of living to be more critical in their lives than simply literacy and numeracy. Unfortunately, while in many Third World societies the rhetoric is that literacy contributes to economic development by imparting and improving agricultural skills and practices of peasants, the latter are not in the final analysis the immediate beneficiaries of the outcomes of the process of capital accumulation.

2) What is the relationship between adult literacy training policies and the cultural, political and economic aspects of the village?

This question was based on the assumption that if literacy training is to contribute to the development of both individuals and communities, it has to be well integrated into the development activities of the community. Education is a necessary, albeit not sufficient, ingredient in the process of development. It is bound, however, to have different outcomes in different social organizations. Much will depend on the state's goals for providing education in specific historical moments.

3) What are the perceptions and expectations of adult learners regarding literacy training?

This question was based on the assumption that there is a difference between officially stated policies and their actual implementation, which influences the manner in which the policies are perceived by the target groups, and which in turn determines their acceptance or rejection of the planned innovation. Much will again depend on people's experience accumulated over time, the way in which the policies are related to the mode of production and the extent to which the people are involved in the designing of the policies themselves.

It was hoped that these three research questions would provide a focus on the state's welfare policies and would help in developing a consistent explanation of the social, political and economic implications of adult education and literacy training to the individual adult learners and to the village, as well as the political implications of adult education as a state policy.

Significance of the Study

The significance of this study lies in three main areas. First, as in the case of other social sciences, it is expected that the study will generate new knowledge, in this case regarding the social, political and economic implications of literacy training to an individual adult learner and to a village community. In particular, the study will illuminate further the role of literacy training in non-literate environments and subsistence economies. Within such contexts, literacy tends to remain a remote abstraction, is not seen as a concrete need by the individuals concerned, and does not assume a real role in people's lives. The Commonwealth Secretariat (1980:13), for example, commented as follows:

> . . . in a non-literate environment and a primitive rural economy with most people engaged in subsistence activities, literacy is not a practical necessity; and it is extremely difficult to maintain motivation and interest in literacy efforts, even when these efforts form a part of a broader functional education programme. In fact, an emphasis on the mechanics of literacy skills may become a distraction and impede the attainment of such other important goals as creating a critical awareness of the learner's own situation, the dissemination of useful knowledge, and organizing for collective self-help actions.

Second, by comparing and contrasting the perceptions of and expectations from literacy training among the various actors in the literacy training process, the study will provide an important feedback to policy makers regarding the manner in which the educational innovation has been received by those who are directly involved in the implementation of the literacy program, namely adult education coordinators, literacy teachers and adult education students: While policy makers and program administrators consider literacy to be a necessary prerequisite for people to function successfully in the modern society, the illiterate adults may not be attracted or retained by the out-of-school literacy programs.

Third, the study has significance at a methodological level: The micro approach will enable students of adult education and literacy training in Tanzania to go beyond what is well known at the national level to what is not yet adequately studied--the grassroots level or the local community. It is at the micro level, where literacy classes are organized, where adult learners are mobilized to attend the literacy classes and where teaching resources are organized, that effects of literacy training can best be analysed. As King (1989:151) recently wrote:

> The logic of the central data, with its inbuilt expansionism, may be able to use the impressive totals of 22 million and 211 million, but they are far removed from any understanding of the nonformal education institutions in the villages.

A qualitative study of this kind needs a considerable amount of time to enable one to obtain a deeper insight into the problem(s) under investigation. For example, at the beginning of the research project, sufficient time ought to be spent on familiarizing oneself with the community and building a good working relationship with the prospective respondents. During the research itself, there may arise new problems and new insights which may lead to a reformulation of the initial research questions or hypotheses, or even the research problem itself.

Owing to financial as well as time constraints, some of the most exciting dimensions of this research approach had to be foregone. For example, two weeks of familiarization with the communities under study were not enough to build the closest working relationships possible. Nor were the six weeks spent on actual data collection in each village adequate to cover all the dimensions of the research problem, particularly bearing in mind the fact that no research assistants were used, notwithstanding the open-endedness of the interview questions which invited prolonged--and incidentally interesting--dialogues.

Methodologically, the study did not rely on statistical measurements of the impact of literacy training on development, but on the adult learners' perceptions of the same, so as to give them an opportunity to evaluate the program which had preoccupied them so much. The following chapter critically examines the literature on the contribution of literacy training to development, particularly in the context of Third World societies.

CHAPTER II

LITERACY AND DEVELOPMENT: A SURVEY OF RELATED LITERATURE

> . . . literacy campaigns and attempts at mass schooling for adults have until now yielded rather poor results throughout the Third World. For if these attempts are not accompanied by profound changes in the economic and social system designed to provide effective employment for the entire working population and providing for the requalification of labour, then they are likely to appear useless both to their beneficiaries and to the authorities responsible for their implementation, as a kind of luxury that really does not constitute one of the first priorities of the development process. (Amin, 1976:90)

Introduction

In this chapter, related literature on literacy and development is presented, focusing on the following main dimensions: limitations to formal schooling, the need for adult education and literacy training, the problem of defining literacy, major approaches to literacy training in the Third World, anticipated benefits of literacy training, the state as a class phenomenon, macro and micro studies on literacy training in Tanzania, and emerging research gaps which call for further investigation.

Limitations to Formal Education

Most developing countries have not been able to provide enough places in their educational institutions. Apart from a political rationale, there is the fact that formal education is too expensive for the poor countries, which is related to the problem of rapid population expansion of these countries. Projections of the United Nations Population Division show that population in the developing countries will have risen from 2.7 billion in 1970 to 5.1 billion in the year 2000, and to 9 billion by the year 2050 (Zaheeruddin, 1982:57). Thus, a large number of children are finding themselves unable to access formal education, particularly at the secondary and tertiary levels. In Tanzania, only about seven percent of the primary school graduates manage to secure a place in secondary school; hence the need to make primary education terminal and to tailor the curriculum to suit the needs of rural life.

In many countries, this has led to the so-called "school-leaver problem," culminating in the rural-urban migrations by the youths who seek to escape unpleasant rural life or to secure an opportunity to obtain a good job and earn a good income. In his survey of a few Eastern African countries (Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Burundi and Zambia), Ishumi (1981) discovered that, by 1978, rural-urban youth migration had been increasing at roughly a similar rate as the expansion of primary education enrolment. The principal motives which had sparked off the migration to town included the following: the need for paid employment (particularly given the emergence of capitalist relations of production in the rural areas)(47%); boredom, conflicts and rewardless labour in the village (21%); need for leisure, freedom and fun (9%); need for business opportunities (7%); and the need for educational/training opportunities (7%).

On the other hand, an increasing number of the Third World countries are facing the problem of over-supply of manpower in relation to available wage based opportunities. Hence, the International Labor Organization (ILO) reported that Kenya's total new jobs in the modern sector could accommodate less than 22 percent of the education system's overall output in 1973 (Coombs, 1985:200). Owing to the structure of wages in most developing countries, coupled with the provision of free or highly subsidized higher education, most students are motivated to pursue further education, a situation which leads not only to what Dore (1976) termed the "Diploma Disease," but also to the emergence of "a bulge of graduates who are often over-educated for the jobs which they end up doing" (Carnoy, 1982:166).

The propensity to acquire credentials is a logical trend toward the acquisition of jobs in the only expanding segment of the modern sector, namely the state. Coombs (1985) described this "distorted pattern of graduates" as follows:

> . . . a heavy preponderance, for example, of graduates in the humanistic studies and law (over 90 percent in some cases), less than 10 percent in natural sciences and engineering, and often fewer than 3 percent in agriculture, the area of greatest development need at that stage in almost all developing countries.

Thus, intermediate skills (medical technicians, nurses, agricultural assistants, the auxiliaries in the various fields (who carry through the directives from professionals) are in short supply. It can even be argued that too much investment in formal schooling--particularly at the secondary and higher levels--can in the long run divert scarce resources from more socially productive activities (i.e. direct employment creation) and, subsequently, constrain national development.

The Need for Adult Education and Literacy Training

Given the limitations of formal education, Third World societies are increasingly finding it necessary to invest in adult education[1] and literacy training as a complementary educational strategy. It is presumed to be education for the masses and usually for the poor and "disadvantaged" populations who, for one reason or another, did not have a chance to receive formal education. By improving the level of education of the adults, it is hoped that there will also be some spill-over effects on the education of their own children: social and economic status of parents has a close bearing on the education and occupations of their children (Mbise, 1989).

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[1] A major problem in adult education as a field of study is a lack of clear and common understanding of what adult education is all about (Prosser, 1967; Coles, 1969). This is partly due to the fact that adult education is not a "discipline" with its own research methods (Fordham, 1989) and partly because it is a broad field of study and operations (London, 1970; Muller, 1974). Nevertheless, adult education can simply be conceived as a mechanism of

Not all adult education, however, is developmental. Nor are all conditions conducive to the development of adult education for social transformation. Nevertheless, at least at a theoretical level, adult education may promote the development of the productive forces by enhancing the intellectual growth of human beings, by consolidating the educational/professional base of those who have had some limited exposure to formal education, by facilitating the provision of agricultural extension services to the peasants, as well as by inspiring both a desire for change and an understanding that change is possible (Kiyenze, 1985). Above all, adult education and nonformal education programs can be tailored to meet the learning needs of specific groups in society, such as women

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imparting "a vast range of skills, abilities, intellectual patterns as well as social and political values" (Torres, 1987:1) to an ever-increasing number of individuals and groups in society.

who in most societies receive less attention in matters pertaining to education,[2] training and employment.

Although adult education can be provided with literacy, technologically speaking "adult literacy can be by-passed and adult education can be delivered over the radio or television" (Bhola, 1989:21). However, as Bhola has argued further, by-passing adult literacy runs the risk of perpetuating dependent communication and *ipso facto* dependent community relationships. Literacy is considered to be a vehicle for further acquisition of knowledge and skills, a means of enabling the population to understand the country's development plans and their own role in implementing them, as well as a way of teaching political education or civics to the masses throughout the country. Depending on the nature and character of the state, which in Third World societies is the "prime mover" of literacy campaigns (Lind and Johnston, 1986), literacy training can end up being simply a mechanism of social control.[3]

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[2] Consequently, female illiteracy is on the increase in the world. In 1960, for example, 58 percent of the adult illiterates were women. In 1970, the figure rose to 60 percent and by 1980 it had gone up to 80 percent (Gillette, 1983:37). While there is agreement on the seriousness of the problem of female illiteracy, there is not yet a general consensus on the question of "what literacy" for women (Gillette, 1983:37).

Literacy; A Social Construct

Although frequent reference is made to "literacy" in the literature, there is not yet a generally accepted definition of the concept. Literacy has tended to remain a social construct. This is partly due to the fact that literacy training programs use several different methods and strategies, in addition to having a broad range of goals (Torres, 1987).

Any understanding of literacy, therefore, has to be contextualized. For literacy is relative and culture-bound. Gray (1956:24), writing for UNESCO within the framework of "functional literacy," popularized the relativistic conception of literacy by defining a literate person as one who "has acquired the knowledge and skills in reading and writing which enable him to engage effectively in all those activities in which literacy is normally assumed in his culture or group." Following that definition, Hunter and Harman (1979:7) defined literacy as "the possession of skills perceived as necessary by particular persons and groups to fulfill their own self-determined objectives as family and members of social, religious, or other associations of their choosing."

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[3] The literacy crusade of Nicaragua provides a good example of how to organize a literacy campaign aimed at promoting popular participation. Throughout the crusade, mass organizations which were in the forefront of democratic participation in the country spearheaded the literacy crusade. These included the Sandinista Youth, the Teachers' Union, the Rural Workers' Association, the Sandinista Workers' Federation, the Sandinista Defense Committees, and the Nicaraguan Women's Association. For more details on the whole question of adult education and democracy, read Christensen, E.L. (1988), Democracy, Socialism, and Adult Education in Nicaragua, a Master of Education Thesis, The Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, University of Alberta, Edmonton.

This debate is further compounded by different levels of literacy. Bhola (1980) pointed out three levels of literacy, namely, illiteracy, pre-literacy and literacy. Among the literates themselves, some may have better literacy skills than others, while the literacy levels are arbitrarily determined. Thus, Bhola cautioned, although the criteria for judging one to be literate should be functionality, the latter had to be defined, "carefully, concretely and contextually" (p. 4).

A measure of literacy which has been in operation for some time is the assessment of a person's ability to read and write at a level equivalent to that of a particular school grade. Such measures may appear attractive, but there is little evidence to show that a person who completes a given number of years (such as six years) of school is literate or that equivalency scores suffice for performance in real life reading and writing tasks (Fisher, 1987). There have been other attempts to use the criteria of successful performance of certain tasks or activities in society. [illegible]chtman (1974), for example, focused on the performance of reading tasks which were directly related to practical and life experiences, such as the ability of subjects to read 45 items selected from nine common daily reading activities like food store advertisements, directions for preparation of food, leases and maps. In 1975, a similar study was conducted in Texas, known as the Adult Performance Level (APL) to find out how many people did not have the requisite skills to "manage" and "survive." A literate person was defined as one who achieved a certain number of objectives emanating from "predetermined living requisites" (in Kozol; 1980:54).

Although Tanzania has tended to attach a broader meaning to literacy (Lind and Johnston, 1986), she has at the same time adopted the narrow criteria for judging one to be literate: ability to read and write a letter within the family; ability to read a newspaper to keep up with current happenings and obtain information or to read "little" books on better living, better foods, better ways of farming, etc.; and ability to complete various forms (like bank, birth and job application forms), as well as ability to keep simple records (Mpogolo, 1980a). Four levels of adult basic literacy have been identified, each one with specific criteria for judging an individual to have reached the respective level. It is at the fourth level of literacy that an individual is considered to be functionally literate (see Appendix D).

These assessment criteria do not appear to adhere to the broader conception of literacy. They tend to gauge the ability to handle written language skills (particularly reading and writing) at the expense of other communicative skills, such as speaking, listening, and comprehension, which, in a context like that of Tanzania, may be even more important. Second, they do not take into account the changing literacy needs of both individuals and societies in time and place. As Fisher (1987:46) cautioned:

> . . . to describe literacy skills necessary for survival in terms of the completion of particular forms is to fail to acknowledge the wide range of important uses for literacy skills and to assume that the completion of particular forms is more critical than other activities.

Third, the criteria imply a particular conception of a literate person--one who has the ability to read, write and comprehend signs, instructions, labels and orders given to him or her by others--a conception which is usually rooted in the thinking and value systems developed by academics or bureaucrats, not by adult learners themselves.

Freire and Macedo (1987) criticize such a conception of literacy by stressing the point that a literacy process has to involve not only mastery of specific skills and particular forms of knowledge, but also a creation of social and cultural conditions for eventual human liberation. This position was well articulated by

Giroux in his introduction to the book by Freire and Macedo (1987):

> Central to Freire's approach to literacy is a dialectical relationship between human beings and the world, on the one hand, and language and transformative agency, on the other. Within this perspective, literacy is not approached as merely a technical skill to be acquired, but as a necessary foundation for cultural action for freedom. Most importantly, literacy for Freire is inherently a political project in which men and women assert their right and responsibility not only to read, understand, and transform their own experiences, but also to reconstitute their relationship with the wider society.

Thus, any attempt to define literacy is made complex by semantic, epistemological as well as ideological ambiguities embodied in the concept. As Fagan (1988:231) advised, it is useful to define literacy "in terms of the circumstances (economic, social, geographic, etc.) of the people involved and their needs, whether immediate or long-term." Nevertheless, in its simplest form, literacy denotes the ability to read and write, with understanding, a short, simple statement on one's everyday life and it is intended to enable individuals to function within their specific social contexts (Thomas, 1989).

Approaches to Literacy Training and Development in the Third World

Which approach is most conducive to developmental literacy training? There have been four main approaches to literacy training, namely fundamental education, functional literacy, mass literacy campaigns, and Paulo Freire's conscientization method. While the first three methods emphasized the techniques of reading and writing, as well as the socio-economic functions of literacy, the last one underscored the political implications of literacy training. Nevertheless, the latter's focus did also remain on the problem of method. What follows is a brief description of each approach.

Fundamental Education

Promoted by UNESCO, since its inception, fundamental education sought to promote community development through literacy training, designed on the basis of values and interests of illiterates, both young and old. Addressing the problem of language in literacy training, UNESCO recommended the use of vernacular languages and sponsored a study, between 1952 and 1954, of the most effective methods of teaching reading and writing in the mother tongue.

Among other things, it was pointed out in the final report that there was no universally applicable method. Programs and methods were bound to vary according to particular needs and local circumstances. But fundamental education hardly made any contribution to eradication of illiteracy (Lind, 1985). Reasons for failure included inability to specify target groups, aiming the programs at people who had no motivation, and lack of follow-up literacy programs.

Functional Literacy

In the period 1967 to 1972, a world experimental program was initiated in eleven developing countries (Algeria, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Guinea, India, Iran, Madagascar, Mali, Sudan, Syria, and Tanzania) under the co-sponsorship of UNDP and UNESCO. Through this functional literacy approach, it was hoped that adult literacy would impart to the learner not only the skills of reading, writing, and numeracy, but also functional skills and knowledge about socio-economic conditions and his/her own daily life activities. The approach was selective to the extent that it sought to teach literacy to adults who could draw the most personal benefits and make the greatest contribution to community and national progress as a result of becoming literate. It was aimed at those groups of adults who stood the best chance of using and retaining the literacy skills acquired. The approach was also intensive: The learners were expected to make rapid progress, by immediately making use of their newly acquired skills, thereby being motivated to continue learning. Functional literacy programs would thus be integral parts of the overall development strategies of the respective societies.

As such, it was hoped, they would transform the adult learners' whole outlook of life and of the world.

Mass Campaign Approach

In other countries, the mass campaign approach has tended to predominate. Lind and Johnston (1986) have distinguished two mass campaign strategies. The first one is the "one-off" campaign for eradicating illiteracy, carried out in countries such as Cuba, Nicaragua, Vietnam and Somalia. Within a period of one or two years, these countries managed to minimize illiteracy, largely due to the unique commitment arising out of their recent conquest of power by a popular movement, initial relatively low illiteracy rates, the existence of one predominant majority language, and effective mobilization of all available resources. The second mass campaign approach seeks to eradicate illiteracy through periodically organized campaigns like those conducted in Tanzania, Burma, Ethiopia and Mozambique. The determining factors for choosing the approach include the existence of a large number of illiterates as well as the low level of development which make it difficult to reach all of them at once.

Paulo Freire's Conscientization Approach

Another approach to literacy training, attempted in the Third World, particularly in Latin America, has been Paulo Freire's conscientization method, currently followed by popular education. The latter emanated from the original thoughts of Paulo Freire as developed in the Pedagogy of the Oppressed (1970). Deeply rooted in a political and social analysis of the living conditions of the poor, this approach to education seeks to develop the awareness of the marginalized individuals and groups in society regarding those conditions.[4] Utilizing individual and collective previous experience, and working with groups rather than individuals, popular education seeks "to arouse pride, a sense of dignity, personal confidence and self-reliance among the participants" (Torres, forthcoming).

According to the conscientization approach, education and literacy training is viewed, designed and practiced as primarily a liberating pedagogy, utilizing the learners' needs and experiences by engaging the learners in the teaching and learning process, through a genuine dialogue. In addition to imparting knowledge and skills required for effective functioning within the given socio-economic order, literacy training has, more importantly, to create a critical consciousness and increase the capacity of the learners to transform their lives and their environment as well as the socio-economic order itself. Education thus presents a moment whereby people are mobilized and organized to capture power.

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[4] Popular education projects can be initiated by governments, as was the case in Nicaragua, Colombia and Dominican Republic, and can be geared toward adults as well as children. In this sense popular education differs from the conscientization approach which is fundamentally opposed to establishing links with the apparatus of the state and the bureaucratic organization of educational practice. At the same time, there is still a debate regarding the appropriateness of the method for children (Torres, forthcoming).

A Critical Appraisal of the Methods in Use

At a theoretical level, the methods or approaches to literacy training appear to be plausible. In practice, they have all been limited in a number of ways: The notion of functional literacy, for example, was restricted to improved vocational skills, or to the work-oriented aspects of literacy programs, emphasizing the methodology of adapting the instructional materials to the specific skills required by the target group of each project. Tanzania's Five Year Development Plan (1969-1974), for example, emphasized that "literacy will be included only in response to popular demand as people become aware of its functional importance" (p. 2), where functionality was conceived mainly in terms of raising and improving crop production. The conception of development here was not different from the one popularized by the modernization theorists (Rostow, 1960; Parsons, 1966; Inkeles, 1974; Huntington, 1976; etc.)

whereby education was considered to be an economic investment.

Kassam (1984:84) observed that functional literacy soon found itself lagging behind the much enlarged and broader concept of development, which began to be articulated with increasing vigour and clarity in the 1960s and 1970s, stressing issues such as self-reliance, equity in distribution of societal resources, and increased participation of the populace in decision making. UNESCO and UNDP's own assessment of the project revealed problems of high drop-out rates and low success rates, which were rampant nearly throughout the whole project area. Among other things, it was learned that if literacy was to achieve concrete results, it had to be integrated into a national plan of development where the "political will" to combat illiteracy would be clearly articulated and linked to the ongoing economic and social reforms in society (Lind and Johnston, 1986).

And where the mass approach is used, the level of literacy achieved is usually low, leading to the problem of relapsing into illiteracy (Lind and Johnston, 1986). With respect to Freire's method, one encounters a number of serious limitations to its effectiveness virtually in all countries where it has been attempted. In his critical assessment of the approach, as it was applied in Guinea Bissau, Harasim (1983) showed that the method was not relevant to the real conditions of Guinea-Bissau and could not posit practical literacy strategies for the Guinean context. The low level of development of productive forces and the class contradictions which developed in the state, during the period of National Reconstruction, adversely affected literacy training activities so much so that practically none of the 26,000 civilian Guineans reached by the literacy activities, between 1976 and 1979, had learned to read or write (Harasim, 1983, Abstract).

Apart from technical problems such as inadequate resource base to allow full use of the dialogical teaching/learning techniques, there have been other, broader cultural and political constraints. For example, in Africa, some societies were sustained by the transmission of information and customs in a hierarchical way, resulting in teachers being accorded status and respect just like the elders, which reinforces the temptation to "perform" or the reluctance to expose ignorance before the students.

Politically, the radical approach to education has tended to be resisted by virtually all Third World states. Freyhold (1979:166), for example, observed that Paulo Freire's idea of making the literacy primers more "problem-posing" and open was rejected by planners in Tanzania on the grounds that:

> If we allow peasants to criticize the advice of the extension agent, we undermine his authority . . . . If peasants begin to discuss whether they want to grow cotton or not they might decide against it, and if they produce no cotton where are we going to get our foreign exchange from?

What was not discussed was the extent to which the foreign exchange earned by the peasants for the country was being used in the interest of the peasants themselves. Indeed, Freire himself (1987) admitted that elites in society would not allow education to perform its radicalizing role: They would usually impose political limits beyond which education could not advance. Paulo Freire's concern was shared by Nyerere (in Hall and Kidd, 1978:31) who noted that:

> Adult education is thus a highly political activity. Politicians are sometimes more aware of this fact than educators, and therefore they do not always welcome real adult education [emphasis added].

These different literacy training strategies, nevertheless, reflect a concerted effort, at national and international levels, to combat illiteracy because it is considered to be an impediment to human progress. Statistics on illiteracy, however, have continued to pose an unprecedented problem: Although the rate of illiteracy in the world has been falling (44.3% in 1950; 39.3% in 1960; 32.4% in 1970; 29.9% in 1980), the total number of illiterates has continued to rise with the increase in population (from 700 million in 1950 to 814 million in 1980) (in Youngman, 1985:149). The situation has been worse for the Third World countries. In 1980, Africa and Asia had illiteracy rates of 60.6 percent and 38.4 percent, respectively (Youngman, 1985:149). As a whole, the world map of illiteracy seems to coincide with the world map of poverty.

Anticipated Benefits of Literacy Training

While many writers do not claim an absolute and deterministic role for literacy in development, they argue that literacy is an essential component of individual and societal development (Bhola, 1984). Blaug (1966:394), for example, explained that literacy provides people with additional means of communication and that it can contribute to economic development by raising the productivity of new literates; by raising the productivity of individuals working in association with literates; by expediting the flow of general knowledge of individuals; by stimulating the demand for vocational training and technical education; by enhancing occupational mobility; and by strengthening economic incentives.

For Bhola (1984:254), literacy is a new symbolic skill for the new literates. It promotes empathy and psychic mobility; it transforms the attitudes of new literates so that they can become "better adopters of innovations"; it enables individuals to be "better consumers of media" and "more effective handlers of information"; and it "dynamizes culture in its broader sense as the newly literates partake of their heritage and renew it."

At the societal level, Bhola continued to show that there are several positive effects of literacy when a high enough percentage of the population becomes literate. For example, where there is a high literacy rate of about 75 percent, there will be low infant mortality, low birth rates, and improvement in children's health status. Second, in the absence of literacy, it is not possible to learn many of the modern skills of production and income-generation. And, third, the literacy class can turn out to be a centre of community education and social action at the community level.

Literacy training can also be used as political education. Immediately after the revolution in China, for example, literacy classes were started in villages to raise the political and educational levels of the masses, with the assumption that "without the popularization and upgrading of the worker-peasant education, there would be no high tide of cultural construction" (UNESCO, 1983:9). The reduction of illiteracy was expected to create conditions conducive to further understanding of politics, general knowledge and science for the training and academic upgrading of cadres in the rural areas.

Similarly, in Cuba, elimination of illiteracy was conceived by the leadership not simply as a technical or pedagogical problem, but mainly as a profoundly political effort, one tied intimately to the revolutionary transformation of society and the economy (Leiner, 1987:173). In order to achieve those goals, it was felt necessary to extend the literacy campaign to enable the new literates to obtain at least a minimum grade level (sixth grade) if at all they were to participate effectively in the process of socialist construction.

However, most studies which have been done to test the contributions of literacy training have not produced encouraging results. It was postulated in the Experimental World Literacy Programme (EWLP) co-sponsored by UNESCO and UNDP, for example, that functional literacy had the capacity to transform the new literates' relationship to their socio-economic milieu as well as the milieu itself. But among other things, the results indicated that only a few (less than one-third) of all the socio-economic changes, stipulated in the various programs, were ever adopted by the participants (UNESCO/UNDP, 1976).[5] Second, it would appear that the narrowly economic and individualistic nature of the EWLP's logic diverged from--if not contradicted--the type of development pursued and cherished by some of the participating countries (UNESCO/UNDP, 1976). As the evaluation team observed, there is a need:

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[5] Participants were expected to demonstrate changes in areas such as interest in further education, management of personal finances, exposure to mass media, the seeking out of technical advice, use of the 3 Rs and participation in formal organizations (insertion into the milieu); behaviour at work, knowledge of modern technical practices, adoption of modern practices, conservation and reproduction of the labour force (mastery of the milieu); and the means of production, the volume of production, cash income, income in kind and consumption of durable goods (transformation of

> . . . to avoid viewing or designing literacy as an overwhelmingly technical solution to problems that are only partly technical. A broad, multi-dimensional approach to both development and literacy is required. Indeed, it would seem that literacy programmes can only be fully functional --and development contexts can only be fully conducive to literacy--if they accord importance to social, cultural and political change as well as economic growth. (p. 122)

Studies by Bhola (1984), Lind and Johnston (1986) and Arnove and Graff (1987) have further illuminated the political and ideological character of literacy training activities, stressing the point that the most fundamental issues involved are motivational, mobilizational, political and organizational rather than simply technical and pedagogical (Husen and Postlethwaite, 1989:465). While the studies have made an invaluable contribution to the theory and practice of comparative adult education, they have tended to be too broad to reflect the actual practice at the level of the individual adult learner and his or her immediate community. In some cases, notably in the analysis of Bhola (1984), no effort is made to analyse the

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the milieu) (UNESCO/UNDP, 1976:176-181).

social formations of the countries studied, thus rendering the comparative dimension merely descriptive and analytically incomplete.

Any discussion of the effectiveness of literacy training has to be related to the overall context in which most nonformal education programs find themselves: First, they do not enjoy the credentialing powers of formal education (Bock, 1976; Evans, 1981). Second, related to the first one, they tend to be regarded by the general population as a second-rate alternative to formal education, which is more rewarded (Bacchus, 1979; Evans, 1981; Bhola, 1983), and usually they are used as a cooling off mechanism to lower the aspirations of the poor while making secure the position of the dominant class with academic formal education (Bock and Papagiannis, 1983). Third, instead of reducing existing inequalities, they tend to reinforce them (Bacchus, 1979; Bock and Papagiannis, 1983). Fourth, nonformal education programs, including literacy training, especially in non-socialist countries, seem to be primarily concerned with changing the attitudes and behaviours of individuals (see Kassam, 1978; 1979) rather than transforming socio-economic structures and processes (La Belle; 1986; 1988).

Certain conditions have to be fulfilled if literacy training, or any other nonformal education program, is to contribute to development. According to Ahmed (1983) there has to be a national commitment to the promotion of mass welfare (including expansion and equity in educational opportunities), decentralization of planning and management in both education and development areas allowing for genuine popular participation, and a dynamic process of socio-economic transformation emanating from national development policies, plans and programs.

The State: A Class Phenomenon

Any analysis of the role of literacy training in development has to be linked to a clear understanding of the nature and character of the state concerned. Such a perspective becomes even more important in developing countries where the state plays a predominant role in managing societal learning process (Welton, 1987; Pannu, 1988; Torres, 1988) in addition to its other functions of maintaining law and order, and assisting in legitimating the rule of the dominant class or factions in society.

There are two main conceptions of the state in the literature, each one originating from a particular view of the structure of society. The first conception is deeply rooted in the liberal, social democratic tradition whereby the state is viewed as an independent and neutral instrument whose major function is to mediate between various competing interests in the "national interest." Assuming a pluralistic but harmonious structure of society, the proponents of this school of thought (see Mwansasu and Pratt, 1979) see the state as being primarily an arbitrator capable of ensuring a balance of power among the numerous "pressure groups" and political forces in society.

The second conception of the state is informed by Marxist historical-materialist perspective whereby the state is posited as essentially a class phenomenon, which develops with the social division of labour through which the ruling class asserts its common interests (Jessop, 1982). Thus, according to Marx, Engels and Lenin, the form of the state is a reflection of the economic base of society and, subsequently, its interventions are a reflection of the economy and/or the balance of economic class forces (Jessop, 1982). This view of the state was well articulated by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (1976:36) which pointed out that:

> There is no such thing as a non-class or supra-class state. So long as the state remains a state, it must bear a class character. So long as the state exists, it cannot be a state of the "whole people." As soon as society becomes classless, there will no longer be a state.

There are, therefore, at least three fundamentals of the state in Marxist literature. First, the nature and character of the state originates from the relations of production rather than from men's consciousness. Second, the bourgeois state emerged in human society, with the introduction of private capital, to mediate class conflict (which is ironically irreconcilable) and to maintain order in the interest of the dominant class. Third, the state is a repressive instrument of the bourgeoisie, which legitimizes power, represses and enforces the reproduction of the class structure and class relations (Carnoy, 1980).

However, the state is not a homogeneous entity: Within its internal administrative and organizational structures, it includes various factions which make it an area of conflict, as well as a centre for the exercise of power. Analyzing the liberal (capitalist) democratic state, Carnoy and Levin (1985:46) wrote:

> Although the contradictions between the dominant and dominated groups are reflected in the structure of the State (and in the power relations expressed in that structure), there is not necessarily agreement at any given time among the fractions of the power bloc on how to deal with such contradictions and the conflicts with subordinated groups. All this is condensed in the internal division and contradictions in the State, among and within its diverse branches, networks, and apparatuses.
>
> The State, in all its functions (ideological, repressive, and economic) is marked by contradiction because a struggle is taking place in its very heart even as it attempts to maintain an external dominant class hegemony.

Thus, two main tensions characterize the liberal democratic state. On one hand, the marginalized groups seek to alter the conditions which oppress them and, on the other hand, the dominant groups organize themselves to reproduce the conditions of their dominance (Carnoy and Levin, 1985). These struggles and tensions are in turn reflected in overall state policies, including education.

But within the Marxist school, there have emerged two further reformulations regarding the state. According to the first reformulation, the state is but an instrument of the ruling class. It is an apparatus through which wage-labour is exploited by capital and through which class domination is maintained in the political sphere. It was in that context that Marx and Engels (1848:486) pointed out, "The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the bourgeoisie." This view of the state is also shared by people like Frank (1979) and Shivji (1982) who have written extensively on the nature and character of the state in the peripheral dependent societies. For Frank (in Carnoy, 1984), for example, the state in the Third World is:

> . . . dependent financially, technologically, institutionally, ideologically, militarily and politically on the international bourgeoisie(s) and their metropolitan states . . . .

Thus, according to this view, the local bourgeoisie apparently controls the state, but it continues to be incorporated into the world capitalist system, thereby maximizing access to domestic resources for international capital (Shivji, 1982). But, to the extent that the peripheral societies continue to be underdeveloped in the process, the peripheral state[6] finds itself intervening, as often as possible, to curb the resistance (both potential and actual) to such exploitation. Hence the transformation of the state into a highly coercive apparatus in society.

The second reformulation of the state in Marxist literature accords some relative degree of autonomy and independence to the local ruling class. Saul (1979:78) argued, for example, that in the context of an underdeveloped African country which usually has a weak petty bourgeoisie, "its ruling class section which comes to possess the instruments of the state on the morrow of independence, relatively commands enormous power and is therefore very strong." With specific reference to the Tanzanian state, Samoff (1982:124-125) observed that:

> As was the case elsewhere in Africa, the Tanzanian leadership used its access to power to begin to build for itself an economic base. Control over the machinery of the state is especially important at the periphery of monopoly capitalism, where the role of the state expands as it assumes a major responsibility not only for insuring the rationalization of production, the mobility of capital, and the availability of labor, but also, in general, for managing the framework for accumulating capital and reproducing capitalist relations.

It is this historical-structural perspective of the state which provides a more valid theoretical framework for understanding the Tanzanian state[7] which, like all peripheral states, has always been grappling with enormous problems of achieving greater independence within the existing international economic order; but, unlike many states in the Third World, the Tanzanian state made at least the political decision to create an egalitarian society whose major tenets include the promotion of equality, the achievement of national self-reliance, the creation of a socialist environment, and the enhancement of democratic participation (Pratt, 1976). Such a political decision shows the relative freedom that Third World states have in shaping their own destinies: They are not simply instruments or serving agents of international capital.

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[6] The term is used within the logic of dependency. See, for example, the analysis of Third World states by Carnoy (1984), and Unsicker (1987).

[7] See Chapter IV for further analysis of the Tanzanian state.

On the other hand, however, the political decision has to be analysed in the context of the overall ideology of the state to achieve hegemony in society. After regaining political independence, the newly independent Tanzanian state immediately faced two major tasks which were essential to its legitimacy. The first one was to show that it was in command of the situation. Hence the promulgation of its official ideology of Ujamaa na Kujitegemea (socialism and self-reliance) nationalization of important means of production in an attempt to terminate the hegemony of British capital and to sever relations with imperialism, and creation of political and economic institutions which would further demonstrate that it was willing and able to distribute the "fruits of independence" to the masses of the people. Hence the introduction of distributional policies regarding social services, including education, health care, clean water, etc., which have contributed to the political stability of the Tanzanian state unparalleled in most African states.

Within such a context, adult education and literacy training, as will be shown in Chapter V, have increasingly assumed political and economic rationalities: first to legitimate the state by seeming to increase educational opportunities while at the same time providing a moment for rationalizing complex political and ideological principles and practices; and, second, to incorporate marginal rural groups in the country (subsistence farmers and herders) within the market economy as a basis of state capital accumulation. The remaining sections of the chapter examine some of the main studies done on literacy training in Tanzania, in an attempt to discover the "intellectual ancestry" of the study, starting with those done at the national level.

Research on Literacy Training in Tanzania

National-level Studies

The literature available on literacy training in Tanzania, and elsewhere, reveals a great deal of optimism for the utility of literacy at the macro level: A general hypothesis could be made that the larger the scope of analysis the stronger the claim for the role of literacy in development one is likely to encounter. Ng'wandu (1973), for example, carefully described and analysed the role of adult education in the building of Ujamaa villages in Tanzania. He discovered that adult education as a whole had contributed to the implementation of Ujamaa villages policy by creating among the people a general awareness and willingness to accept innovations. The content of adult education programs reflected local needs, thereby enabling adult learners to solve some of the problems they were confronting in their rural setting.

Hall (1975) wrote an interesting study on adult education and the development of socialism in Tanzania. He observed that there was a greater emphasis on the role of adult education in development particularly after the promulgation of the Arusha Declaration (1967). This was reflected in the increase in number of official statements on adult education in public speeches, newspaper articles, political meetings and government directives. Subsequently, there was a proliferation of adult education agencies and programs in the country, with a substantial increase in the enrolment figures for the various adult education programs in the post-Arusha period. In 1964, for example, there were only 304,794 adult learners in literacy classes. By 1973, enrolment had risen to about two million, with another 600,000 pursuing some other types of subject (p. 131).

Kassam (1978) recorded major developments constituting what he called the "adult education revolution" in Tanzania. He wrote that "of all the development programmes, adult education (which includes political education) probably served as the greatest means of mobilizing people for development" (p. 106). Noting a proliferation of different programs and institutions, such as the national literacy campaign, the mass radio study group campaigns, education by correspondence, workers' education, folk development colleges, community education centres, and rural libraries, Kassam emphasized the point that all the decisions taken and all the policies formulated in adult education "have been guided primarily by the objective realities and conditions of Tanzania rather than by concepts such as 'international standards' and 'models'" (p. 106).

Relying almost entirely on documentation analysis, Kassam was not able to analyse systematically the social, political and economic effects of adult education and literacy training at the level of an individual or a village to see whether or not that "adult education revolution" had initiated a socio-economic revolution in the Tanzanian society. He noted, however, that there was a general "apathy to change, lack of conviction or clarity on the developmental and liberational potential of adult education, lack of recognition of the need for lifelong learning, the inclination to equate education with formal schooling and certificate oriented tendencies" (p. 107).

Perhaps the largest study on the impact of literacy training in Tanzania was one done by the Ministry of Education (1983). The study involved interviews with over 5,000 new literates and 1,680 relatives of the students. Additional data were collected through questionnaires which were administered to over 1,000 teachers, adult education coordinators, government administrators and experts, as well as party officials. It found that literacy and post-literacy training had enabled adult learners in Tanzania to make use of modern agricultural methods, to participate in various political activities and to adopt better health practices. The study further showed that literacy and post-literacy training had contributed to the development of Kiswahili proficiency and elimination of certain undesirable cultural beliefs.

The problem with these studies is that they have not adequately analyzed the Tanzanian social formation which provides the context of educational policy formulation and implementation. Focusing mainly on attitudinal change as a prerequisite for successful implementation of any development programs, the studies have overlooked the importance of collective political and economic action.

There are also methodological problems. For example, in the Ministry of Education study (1983), the researchers asked about current farming behaviour in an attempt to examine the impact of literacy training on farming practices, without finding out whether or not the change in behaviour occurred during or since the literacy classes (Unsicker, 1987). Some of the effects which they attributed to literacy training, on the basis of what they were told by the respondents, could have been brought about by other development agencies, such as the work of party activists and various extension agents in the villages and in the towns. As a whole, the scope of analysis of these studies is so wide that it is likely to adversely influence the validity of the findings.

District-level Studies

Studies done at the district level have revealed a number of social and economic constraints which adversely affect the smooth running of literacy training programs, thereby minimizing their impact on development. In a 1971 study on a literacy campaign in six districts, Hall and Mhaiki (1972), for example, discovered the following problems, among others: inadequate supply of instructional materials, poor quality of teachers, adult learners not convinced of the importance of the 3 Rs, poor attendance and drop-out from classes, interruption of literacy classes by social functions, workers from other development ministries and departments not fully cooperating in literacy work, adult learners' preoccupation with domestic chores and/or farming activities, and the literacy training curriculum failing to address the specific problems of the pastoralists.

Some studies have also indicated that the state adult education policy is not always understood in the same way by all the actors in a given area. For example, in a 1975 study on policy and practice in Tanzanian adult education (in Hinzen and Hundsdörfer, 1979), Mlekwa found out that different categories of people in the district he studied had different interpretations of adult education, its aims and objectives, as well as its organization: The professional adult educators understood adult education to include literacy, functional literacy and continuing education. The Party, government, parastatal and religious officials tended to understand adult education mainly in terms of functional literacy. Adult learners, on the other hand, conceptualized adult education as merely literacy.

The different perceptions of adult education had a bearing on the manner in which adult education policy was implemented as well as on the motivation of adult learners. The Party, government and parastatal officials who interpreted adult education as meaning mainly functional literacy tended to believe that literacy training was the responsibility of the Ministry of Education alone. Thus, "the broader dimension of adult education was not vividly portrayed and the importance of co-ordinating the activities of the various adult education agencies did not seem to be an issue of much concern" (p. 219). On the other hand, since the adult learners viewed adult education as simply literacy training (itself also narrowly construed to mean reading and writing), they were not much convinced of the importance of adult education or literacy training in their own lives. Hence, the general response to the question, "Why do you attend adult education classes," was, "Because we have been told to" (p. 219).

With respect to the acquisition and utilization of functional skills in daily life activities, Mushi (1986) showed that there were significant differences in the acquisition and utilization of health, agricultural and industrial functional skills in Moshi Urban and Rombo districts. Moshi Urban adult learners, who had achieved higher levels of literacy (54%), were utilizing less modern agricultural inputs and technology than were their counterparts of Rombo District who had attained a lower level of literacy (23%).

Two major implications can be drawn from these studies. First, a well intentioned educational innovation may be misconceived and subsequently misimplemented. Historical, economic, political, sociological and at times geographical factors may come into play: People's experiences accumulated throughout history, the type of social organization and various cultural patterns which people have developed and cherish, will have a direct or indirect bearing on the manner in which an educational policy will be perceived. Much more will depend on the extent to which the people themselves participate in the process of policy making. For, once they participate in policy formulation, they will more easily understand it and implement it accordingly.

Second, it would appear that higher literacy rate by itself is not likely to be directly related to higher utilization of new technology. As Mushi pointed out, the difference may be attributed to factors exogenous to literacy, including availability of agricultural and industrial inputs, type of agricultural plots, the level of political mobilization of adult learners to put the skills into operation, existing state policies on prices for the commodities produced, or salaries for service rendered.

These district-level studies, too, had important delimitations. While the six districts literacy campaign research team (1971) and Mlekwa (1975) sought to analyse the achievements and the bottlenecks in the implementation of adult education policy in the districts, without probing into the contribution of literacy training to the development of either the adult learners or the districts studied, Mushi (1986) addressed the impact of literacy training on development in the absence of baseline data that would help in isolating the effects of literacy training from those of other development agencies.

Village-level Studies

At the village level, the gap between policy and practice becomes even more apparent. In his study of the perspectives of the graduates of the post-functional literacy curriculum in Tanzania, Kinshaga (1985) showed that the adult learners were not always ready to adopt the innovations advocated by the functional literacy curriculum. Utilizing an ethnographic approach of participant observation, he was told by the adult learners that they had learned many things from the program, such as the importance of constructing and using latrines, garbage pits, planting crops in rows, drinking boiled water, and planting trees. However, he discovered that:

> Most graduates did not take any initiative to apply their acquired knowledge until the village government directed them to do so. The village government, under its socio-economic development program, intervened in order to bring the changes needed or to arrest crisis in case of cholera which occurred in 1982/83. But the graduates applied their acquired knowledge only when they perceived it to be beneficial to them and compatible with their value system. (p. vii)

The graduates learned the importance of planting trees where there were none, but they did not plant any trees until they were directed by the village government to do so (p. 202). Some resisted the adoption of modern agricultural methods, such as using manure on the black cotton soils and planting millet in rows, arguing that there was no need to do so. Some cultural beliefs impeded the adult learners from utilizing the functional literacy skills to improve the quality of their lives. One good example was the use of oxen ploughs: The idea seemed interesting to the adult learners, but in practice none of the functional literacy graduates owned or used one. The villagers felt that the use of oxen for cultivation would be too brutal to the animals. Consequently, the oxen ploughs lay idle in the village.

In a comprehensive study of the practice of adult education in relation to the task of socialist transformation in Tanzania, Kweka (1987) has further demonstrated the limited capacity of adult education to promote development. Using the participatory approach, coupled with informal interviews, documentation analysis and participant observation, he analysed the following dimensions in one of the villages that he studied: the socio-economic system of the village and how it related to the national and international systems, the relationship of the socio-economic system at the village level and the historical development of school education and adult education in the area, the views of peasants and leaders on various programs of adult education, as well as the political system and its involvement in adult education and development at the village level.

Among other things, the results indicated, first, that the peasants did not see the manner in which adult education programs could help them improve their living conditions. Second, related to the first one, the literacy primers used in the village did not impart new knowledge to the learners--they dealt with agricultural techniques of which the villagers were already aware. Third, while the literacy primers dealt with biological and chemical innovations (e.g. type of seeds, seedlings, planting, weeding, use of fertilizers and insecticides, etc.), they did not disseminate knowledge of seed production particularly because the seeds were sold to the peasants by a parastatal and some private companies. Fourth, peasants' participation in decision making was greatly limited: there was no genuine dialogue between the bureaucrats and the peasants on issues which affected the living conditions of the workers and peasants. This led to a situation whereby:

> Peasants and workers had begun to see that the programmes that came from above were not for their interests. Some peasants observed that they were urged to join adult education classes so that teachers should get honoraria. (p. 127)

While Kweka has made an important contribution to existing knowledge about policy and practice of adult education at a micro (village) level in Tanzania, his attempt to analyse all adult education programs in the village minimized his attention on literacy training which, in the context of Tanzania, has been accorded the greatest priority among all nonformal education programs.

Research done at the level of an individual adult learner as an object of study is the most scanty. Perhaps the best known is one which was done by Kassam (1979) who sought to capture the new literates' own perceptions of the benefits of literacy. Through dialogues with eight new literates from four regions of Tanzania, representing what he called "a fair cross-section of people from within the workers and peasants" (p. 16), he discovered that in almost all cases literacy had made a powerful and positive impact on the qualitative aspects of development, such as enhancement of self-esteem, self-confidence and self-reliance. He wrote:

> They have got rid of their former state of marginality, alienation and fear, they feel more self-confident and have begun to be self-assertive, they have acquired a new awareness of self, they have become politically conscious, they have regained their complete human dignity, they cannot be exploited and humiliated in the same way as before, they have become self-reliant in many ways, they now feel like active subjects rather than manipulable objects and they have begun to demystify social reality. (p. 58)

In this study, too, Kassam did not analyse the Tanzanian social formation, or the nature and character of the Tanzanian state, or the social, political and economic institutions purported to serve the interests of the peasants and workers, or even the views of the new literates about these factors. In the absence of such analyses, he may have ended up romanticizing the benefits of adult education and literacy training.

Research Gaps

In light of the literature reviewed, it appears that in Tanzania the role of the state in education, particularly in adult education and literacy training, has not been adequately studied. This is unfortunate because in developing countries, virtually all forms of education and training are controlled by the state. The state itself, therefore, must also be an object of analysis in any attempt to explain the contribution of any form of education to development (Carnoy, 1980; Arnowitz and Giroux, 1985; Carnoy and Levin, 1985; Welton, 1987; Shor and Freire, 1987; Torres, 1988a, 1988b; Pannu, 1988).

Second, some studies have tended to confuse correlation with causation.[8] For example, studies by Hall

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[8] Correlation refers to the degree of association between two variables, or as Vanhonacker (1983:82) put it, "the amount of reduction in error in predicting values of one variable from values of the other." A perfect statistical relationship between two variables, however, is

(1975) and Ng'wandu (1973) showed that there was an increased awareness of the role of adult education in development after the Arusha Declaration and where Ujamaa village policy had been "more fully accepted" respectively. These studies claimed a causal relationship between adult education, socialist development and the building of Ujamaa villages without giving empirical evidence to demonstrate these relationships.

Third, the focus of analysis, except in a few cases, has been too global to illuminate the actual practice at the grassroots level. For example, apart from methodological problems reflected in the number of "no response," "irrelevant" and "uncertain" responses, the Ministry of Education Study (1983) was a macro one designed to capture the impact of functional literacy on the development of the nation as a whole, thereby not necessarily reflecting what was happening--or not happening--at the grassroots level.

Fourth, the social, political and economic implications of literacy training to an individual adult learner and to a village have not yet been adequately and

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not an appropriate indicator of causation. The latter occurs only when the following three criteria are fulfilled (see Babbie, 1986:65): First, the independent (cause) and the dependent (effect) variables have to be empirically related to one another. Second, the independent variable must precede the dependent variable in time. And, third, the observed relationship cannot be attributable to the effects of another earlier variable.

systematically studied in Tanzania. There is no sufficient information, therefore, regarding the manner in which the so-called functional literacy program, designed by the state, affects the daily life activities of individuals and of the village communities in Tanzania.

In summary, this chapter has critically examined the literature on literacy training and development in the Third World in general and in Tanzania in particular. The chapter has focused on the main theoretical issues involved, some empirical studies done on literacy training in Tanzania, and research gaps which warrant further inquiry. The next chapter deals with the methodological dimensions of the study.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN

Introduction

This chapter describes the research design, focusing on the area of study and population, research approach used, methods of collecting data and the type of data, as well as data analysis plan.

Area of Study

The study was conducted in two villages, both of them from Morogoro Rural District, in Morogoro Region, Tanzania mainland. Purposive sampling technique was used to select the region, the district and the two villages, where two adult education centres were picked. The latter were primary schools where both adults and children were receiving instruction under the coordination of the respective head teachers.

Initially, the research design was intended to compare and contrast literacy training policies and practices between an Ujamaa village and a traditional village with the assumption that the two types of villages would differ in terms of their material base of production, relations of production, social organization, leadership style, and the level of people's participation in decision-making processes. While the differences remained valid, it was discovered that this was mainly a theoretical formulation or a goal that was yet to be reached: Throughout the country, villages which could be accorded the status of "Ujamaa" villages were extremely few[1] to the extent that studying any one of them would be to study an exceptional case. Coupled with the problem of accessibility of these villages, a decision was made to study two villages in Morogoro Region which were not only accessible, given the researcher's resource constraints, but also represented the type of villages where most Tanzanians live.

It was hoped that selection of such a small scope of analysis (village) would facilitate a more in-depth study of the perceptions and expectations of the main actors in the literacy process, namely adult learners, teachers and coordinators. As King (1989:154) recently wrote with reference to evaluating the Village Reading Centres (VRCs) in Thailand:

> There are, for instance, the centrally laid-down objectives for VRCs (Village Reading Centres). There are regional and provincial specifications for VRCs. There are also . . . the village's interest in conforming to what it thinks is the

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[1] Relatively good examples of such villages are Isanza (Mbeya Region), Lulanzi (Iringa Region) and Mareu (Arusha Region). See Dumont and Mottin (1983:131-133).

> official agenda for VRCs. Finally, there is the village's own set of priorities for its VRC, and its own pattern of actual utilization. Obviously, a VRC could be evaluated against any of these, but some of the more qualitative approaches allow the investigator to see the pitfalls in assuming that it is necessarily straightforward to evaluate an institution in a village against a set of central objectives.

Population

The population for the study comprised all the 1983 functional literacy test participants who graduated at the fourth level of literacy. There were two main reasons for basing the study on this population. First, in the Tanzanian context, adult learners at this level are considered to be functionally literate: They are presumed to have the ability to use continuously the acquired literacy skills by reading newspapers, various books on better farming, sanitation and nutrition, as well as to keep records and simple accounts (Mpogolo, 1985). Second, more than five years had elapsed since they had graduated from the functional literacy program. This period was considered to be long enough to warrant a study of the effects and benefits of literacy training.

Composition of the Sample

All adult learners who sat for the 1983 national literacy test in each adult education centre, and passed at the fourth level, were included in the sample.[2] Other interviewees comprised of all respective adult education coordinators for the region, district, wards and centres (6 in total), and all literacy teachers in each adult education centre (8 in total were available). Village elders, government leaders and politically active people in the villages (26 altogether) were also interviewed to generate information on the history of the villages, as well as the social, political and economic prospects and problems of the villages. Table 1 shows the composition of the sample.

Gender and Age Distribution

The main actors in the literacy training process, as well as the research process, were adult education coordinators, literacy teachers, and adult learners. Gender was distributed as follows: adult education coordinators (5 men, 1 woman); literacy teachers (2 men, 6

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[2] It was assumed that the total number for each center would not be big enough to warrant the use of other sampling techniques such as random sampling. See Tables 12 and 15 for the total number of adult learners who sat for the 1983 national literacy test in Mlali and Melela villages, respectively.

Table 1
Composition of the Sample

Interviewee	Village Mlali	 Melela	Total
Regional AE Coordinator	–	–	1
District AE Coordinator	–	–	1
Ward E Coordinator	1	1	2
Centre AE Coordinator	1	1	2
Literacy Teachers	5	3	8
Adult Learners	12	10	22
Village Party Branch Chairman	1	–	1
Village Party Branch Secretary	1	1	2
Village Party Branch Treasurer	1	–	1
Ward Secretary	1	1	2
Rural Medical Aid	1	1	2
Maternal Child Health Aider	2	–	2
Assistant Health Officer	–	2	2
Divisional Cooperative Officer	–	–	1
Regional Census Officer	–	–	1
Agricultural Field Officer	1	1	2
Village Elders	6	4	10
TOTAL	33	25	62

women); and adult learners (10 men, 12 women). Thus, for each category of respondents, particularly in the case of coordinators and teachers, women outnumbered men.

In terms of age distribution, average age for the three categories of respondents were as follows: adult education coordinators (39.6 years); literacy teachers (31.6 years); and adult learners (47.3 years). The range was 21 years, 10 years and 47 years, respectively. Teachers were, therefore, the youngest of the group and adult learners were the oldest.

Cultural Capital

All adult learners reported to have completed the fourth level of literacy training. They could read with relative ease, although their writing skills were not well developed. All were peasants relying on subsistence agriculture for their livelihood.

One adult education coordinator had a diploma in adult education. The rest had only Form IV level of education, with Grade "A" Teachers' Certificates.[3] It was interesting to note that among the literacy teachers, one had completed Form VI[4] level of education and was looking forward to pursuing university studies. Most of the teachers interviewed (6) had completed only primary education, with a teachers' training course at Grade "C" level. Regarding training in adult education, only one coordinator had a diploma in adult education and had long experience (10 years) in adult education work.

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[3] In Tanzania, this is junior secondary education, lasting four years, after completion of seven years of primary education. A Grade "A" Teachers' Certificate is awarded to those who successfully complete a teacher training course of two years in a teacher training college.

[4] This is advanced secondary education, lasting two years, after completion of Form IV.

Another one had received some training in adult education (a short course of four months) abroad and did also have ten years of experience in adult education work. The remaining four coordinators had been introduced to adult education methodology through teacher training courses which they had attended. Out of the literacy teachers, only two had attended short courses of about three months. One did not have any training in adult education, while five had learned some principles of adult education in teacher training colleges only.

Research Approach

The study utilized a qualitative research approach. The latter was described by Maanen (1983:9) as:

> . . . an umbrella term covering an array of interpretive techniques which seek to describe, decode, translate, and otherwise come to terms with the meaning, not the frequency, of certain more or less naturally occurring phenomenon in the social world.

Although qualitative and quantitative studies are not mutually exclusive, they are different at least in form, focus and emphasis of study (Maanen, 1983). Table 2 shows some of the main differences between the two types of research.

Advocates of qualitative research argue that since human behaviour is significantly influenced by the setting in which it occurs (see Bogdan and Biklen, 1982), it is essential for the researcher to penetrate the social world of the researched if he is to understand the meaning which they give to various phenomena, their perceptions of their operative situation, as well as their ability to transform that situation. However, this is not to suggest that qualitative research is an alternative, or even opposite, to quantitative research. For there is a complementarity between the two approaches (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982; King, 1989). As Firestone (1987:16) pointed out:

> Quantitative and qualitative studies are not antithetical. They present the reader with different kinds of information and can be used to triangulate to gain greater confidence in one's conclusions.

The qualitative approach was adopted for this study for three main reasons. First, it was hoped that both the process and the results of the research project would benefit the community, as opposed to being a mere academic exercise or simply an "obscure policy analysis." Dialogue and discussions with the peasants would enable them to further reflect on existing social contradictions and methods of resolving them. Second, this research approach

Table 2
Differences between Quantitative and Qualitative Research

Quantitative Research	Qualitative Research
Theoretical Affiliation	
Positivism Realism Logical Empiricism Structural Functionalism	Phenomenology Dialectics Existentialism Marxism
Assumptions about the World	
There are social facts with an objective reality apart from the belief of individuals.	Reality is socially constructed through individual or collective definitions of the situation.
Purpose	
To explain the causes of changes in social facts mainly through measurement and quantitative analysis.	To understand the social phenomenon from the actors' perspectives through participation in the life of those actors.
Approach	
Experimental or correlational designs to reduce error, bias, and other noise which hinders one to clearly perceive social facts.	Ethnography that helps the researcher understand the definitions of the situation of those studied.
Researcher Role	
Researcher is detached to avoid bias.	Researcher is "immersed" in the phenomenon of interest.

Source: Adapted from Firestone, W.A. "Meaning in Method: The Rhetoric of Quantitative and Qualitative Research," in *Educational Research*, Vol. 16, No. 7, October 1987, pp. 16–17.

would facilitate a dialectical process characterized by an interaction between data gathering and interpretation, thus reducing the chances of producing a static and unidimensional image of reality. Third, given the only rudimentary level of literacy of the respondents (adult learners), it would not be feasible to employ the more conventional or quantitative research approach, utilizing highly standardized research instruments such as a self-applied questionnaire. The research approach was also considered to be suitable in the context of the theoretical framework delineated in Chapter I.

Methods of Collecting Data

The study utilized three main methods of collecting data: documentation, participant observation, and unstructured interviews.

Documentation

Both primary and secondary sources were examined to gather descriptive data on the setting: demographic data, general social, political and economic prospects and problems of the area, current and planned development activities in the villages, as well as literacy training activities in the country in general and in the villages in particular (see Appendix A). Sources of data included census data, pamphlets, brochures, official circulars and directives, maps, charts and tables displayed in offices, reports on adult education activities in the area, minutes of meetings of the centre and literacy class committees, local newspapers articles, etc. Unfortunately, no research studies done on the villages were available to provide information on what had been done, or not done, on the area of study and on related research problems.

Participant Observation

The researcher spent three and a half months interacting, both formally and informally, with the principal respondents (adult education coordinators, literacy teachers and adult learners), as well as with the rest of the members of the two communities. The first two weeks were mainly spent on getting acquainted with the area and particularly with the leaders and elders whose support was considered to be essential for gaining entry and acceptance in the village communities. Before that, permission to carry out the research project had to be granted at each of the following levels of leadership, by a letter of introduction (the first four levels) or by oral communication (the last three levels): Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dar-es-Salaam, Regional Development Director (Morogoro Region), District Development Director (Morogoro Rural District), District Adult Education

Coordinator (Morogoro Rural District), Ward Executive Secretaries (Mlali and Melela Wards), Party Branch Secretaries (Mlali and Melela Villages), and head teachers (Mlali and Melela primary schools).

At each level, the researcher received a lot of cooperation and support. Initially, the researcher had planned to live in the villages throughout the research period. But, owing to lack of accommodation facilities, he had to stay in town and go to the villages every day, as often as possible, by whatever means of transport available. When it was not possible to go to the villages, in most cases owing to lack of transport, the researcher spent the time visiting various government and party offices to seek clarification on matters which had arisen in the field and reflect further on the field notes already written. According to usual practice in participant observation, some time (two weeks in each village) was spent first on making some general observations on various social, political, and economic aspects of the villages. Later on, the observation was more focused on areas of interest to the research project, such as the type of houses in which the adult learners were living, the type of food they were eating, their farming practices, their reading and writing habits, availability and type of reading materials which they had in their houses, and general health conditions of the children, etc.

Participant observation was used to develop a deeper understanding of the interrelated processes in the community: The researcher was able to gather data and interpret them by contrasting different perceptions of the members of the community and his own perceptions (Latapi, 1987). Thus, it was not only possible to analyse various social processes or events, but also to complement the data generated through other methods such as interviews and documentation. Through the application of this method, the researcher was able to cross-check information given by the subjects, particularly the ability to handle written instructions and the utilization of literacy skills in the daily life activities of the adult learners (see Appendix B).

Unstructured Interviews

Unstructured interview guides were prepared and administered to all adult education coordinators, literacy teachers and adult learners in the sample. Each adult education coordinator was interviewed for about one hour. Three of the interviews were tape-recorded in anticipation of the importance of the information that was going to be provided by the interviewees, bearing in mind their positions and long experience in adult education work in the area. Two adult education coordinators were re-interviewed to clarify certain issues which later arose in the field, such as scheduling of literacy classes, recruitment of teachers, payment of honoraria to the teachers, implementation of post-literacy classes in the area, etc.

Literacy teachers were each interviewed for about 30 minutes. Five of the interviews were tape-recorded. Two teachers were re-interviewed to compare and contrast some data gathered from another village. Initially, the researcher had planned to interview each adult learner for only 15 minutes and to tape-record all the interviews. The assumption was that spending little time on each interview would enable the researcher to reach as many adult learners as possible. But since only 22 adult learners were available and willing to be interviewed, the time limit was waived and left open to allow in-depth interviews. Some of the interviews lasted for about 40 minutes. None of the interviews, however, was tape-recorded, after realizing that the interviewees either felt shy before a tape-recorder or tended to suspect the reasons for recording the conversations. Thus, in all cases, the researcher had to rely on extensive field notes which were elaborated upon later during the day and reviewed every week to find out if there were any important gaps in the data. Similarly, interviews were conducted with village elders, retired party and government leaders, as well as politically active people in the village, to study the history of the villages. The length of the interviews ranged from fifteen minutes to one hour, depending on one's quality of information and willingness to be interviewed for a longer period of time.

The open-ended questions (see Appendix C) enabled the researcher to capture the more "subjective" type of information which was important for the study, including motivation for literacy, expectations, orientations, perceptions of literacy, political culture, and opinions regarding the manner in which literacy training had been conducted in the villages. All the interviews were administered by the researcher personally.

Data Analysis

No standardized format for analyzing the responses was prepared beforehand because it was expected that some of the questions would arise during the research process itself and also because most of the responses were not yet known.

Frequencies and percentages, as well as content analysis, were used as data analysis techniques. Content analysis denotes "any technique for making inferences by systematic and objective analysis identifying special characteristics of messages" (Holsti, in Berg, 1989:106). All open-ended responses were categorized through the inductive approach: The researcher examined various responses "to identify the dimensions or themes that seem(ed) meaningful to the procedures of each message" (Berg, 1989:112). Having categorized the responses, through the use of sufficiently exhaustive and consistently followed criteria, they were tallied to determine frequencies of the categories.

In summary, this chapter has described the area of study and population, the research approach adopted and its rationale, methods of collecting data and type of data, as well as data analysis. The next chapter focuses on the wider socio-economic context of the study, namely development strategy in the Tanzanian state.

CHAPTER IV

DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY IN THE TANZANIAN STATE

Introduction

> Literacy programmes must be linked to changes in the relations of production or they will flounder. It is the political character of these changes which finally raises the question of literacy for what--for better incorporation into an inherently unjust capitalist society or for the capacity to build the egalitarian society envisaged by socialism? (Youngman, 1985:160)

This chapter discusses the development strategy in the Tanzanian state. The chapter begins with a short description of selected socio-economic indicators, followed by a discussion of the historical roots of Tanzania's underdevelopment. Then, current efforts at building socialism and self-reliance are examined, together with the nature and character of the state, with the assumption that these provide the context for analysing literacy training policies and practices.

Selected Socio-Economic Indicators

Tanzania (mainland) has a land area of 881,289 sq. km. and a population of 22,533,758, of which 11,012,647 are men and 11,521,111 are women. Population density has been increasing: In 1978 it stood at 19.3 persons per sq. km.

and by 1988 it had risen to 25.5 persons per sq. km. (1988 population census).

Population growth rate per annum, however, has decreased over ten years: In the period 1967/78 it was 3.2 percent, while the 1988 census has lowered it to 2.8 percent. Nevertheless, it is still higher than the world annual population growth rate of 1.7 percent, albeit slightly lower than that of Africa (2.9 percent) and far less than that of Eastern Africa (3.1 percent) (1988 population census).

With about 126 ethnic groups, each one having its own vernacular, Tanzania is the least homogeneous nation in the world (Kurian, 1987), and yet the country continues to enjoy a relatively high level of political stability and unity. Many factors have contributed to this amount of political cohesion and unity, including the existence of Kiswahili language which is spoken and/or understood virtually throughout the country, plus the active role of the party and government in de-emphasizing any divisive factors in society, such as religious, ethnic and racial differences. However, like all other peripheral societies, Tanzania remains heterogeneous particularly in terms of social differentiation, regional inequalities, urban-rural dichotomies and inequalities based on gender.

Tanzania's population is predominantly rural, with only about 14.84 percent living in towns, ranking the country lowest in the world with respect to urbanization (Kurian, 1987). Nevertheless, the proportion of urban population has been increasing (from 6.39% in 1967 to 13.78% in 1978, for example), but it is still relatively small compared to some African countries such as Kenya, Zaire and Zambia whose proportions of urban population in 1980 were 15.5 percent, 34.2 percent and 43.0 percent respectively (1988 Population Census). Tanzania is indeed a peasant society, which is clearly reflected in the villages investigated in this research.

Life expectancy is higher for women (52.7 years) than for men (49.3 years) (Kurian, 1987:1903). For children, the situation is alarming: Many die before reaching five years of age. According to Bralup (1973, in Mwobahe and Mbilinyi, 1974), one out of every six children born dies within his/her first year of life, one out of every five dies before two years of age; and one out of every four dies before the age of five years. As a whole, about 25 percent of all children who are born in Tanzania die before reaching five years of age (Mwobahe and Mbilinyi, 1974).

Considering per capita Gross National Product (GNP), Tanzania is among the 20 poorest countries in the world. In 1985, per capita GNP was U.S. $270. The situation further deteriorated to only U.S. $240 in 1986 (by 1985 prices). Average annual rate of inflation in the period 1973-83 was estimated at 11.5 percent and Tanzania is among 45 countries in the world which are considered by United Nations to be most seriously affected by recent adverse economic conditions (Kurian, 1987:1911). Despite the well intentioned measures taken to minimize disparities in income distribution, there is not yet an even distribution of income in the country. According to Kurian (1987:1911), the bottom 20 percent of the population receive only 2.3 percent of the national income, while the top 5.0 percent receive as much as 33.5 percent of the same.

Agriculture is the mainstay of the economy accounting for 59 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 1986, followed by external trade (14%), transport and communications (7%), public administration (6%), manufacturing (6%), and construction (2%) (UNESCO, 1989:26).

One notable feature of the Tanzanian economy is the dominance of the subsistence sector in relation to the monetary sector. In the period 1970-82, for example, the subsistence sector in agriculture increased, at current prices, almost 900 percent, while the monetary sector increased only 400 percent (UNESCO, 1989:26). Attempting an explanation for this rather unusual trend, UNESCO (1989:26) wrote:

> What happened is that farmers were increasingly reluctant to sell their output to official marketing agencies at very low imposed prices, choosing instead to produce more for subsistence and, perhaps, for private sale within the informal sector of the economy.

Implicit in the explanation above is a specific relationship between the Tanzanian state and the peasantry, dealt with at length in subsequent sections since it also has a bearing on peasants' responses to state educational policies. But there is a need first to explain the historical roots of Tanzania's underdevelopment.

Historical Roots of Tanzania's Underdevelopment

Tanzania was ruled by Germany (1884-1919) and by Britain (1919-1961). Although the form of colonial rule was different, the content was the same: establishment of a political, economic and physical infrastructure aimed at expropriating natural resources and export crops grown mainly with African labour (Unsicker, 1987). The 19th century witnessed rapid development in industrialization and mechanization in Europe, which enabled capitalism to expand to such an extent that it became difficult to maintain its levels of profit. In order to offset the declining rates of profits, it was essential for capitalism to reduce the cost of machinery, or to maximize the rate of exploitation of labour at home, or to expand overseas. The latter was the most suitable alternative since it ensured control over a global market, access to cheap foreign labour and a cheap supply of raw materials (Webster, 1984).

Although the incorporation of Tanzanian economy into the world capitalist system had begun long before German colonial penetration in the late 1890s,[1] it was under German colonial rule that these links were more articulated and institutionalized. The Germans organized an economy which was externally oriented since it was based on the export of primary agricultural commodities. Above all, the economy had a dual character: European settlers were assisted in establishing large plantations (in Usambara, Tanga, Pangani, Lindi, Morogoro, etc.) where coconuts, rubber, cotton and sisal were grown. Africans on the other hand, were first encouraged to continue with the hunting of ivory and collection of beeswax and rubber. Toward the end of 1890, they were required to cultivate sisal, cotton, rubber, groundnuts and coffee either as peasants or as paid labourers. Missionaries and white settlers made available the required seeds and farming techniques.

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[1] The East African Coast was linked with the Persian Gulf, India and China through sea trade across the Indian Ocean as early as 1500 A.D. East African coastal towns and islands were periphery areas (Wallerstein, 1982; Coulson, 1982) supplying luxury items, ivory, slaves and gold. From 1500 A.D., the East African coast came under control of the Portuguese, who took over the trade in gold, although they were more interested in India (Coulson, 1982). In 1840, Sultan Seyyid Said moved his capital from Muscat to Zanzibar. East and Central Africa became important hunting areas for ivory, which was taken to Zanzibar and then to India and Europe. In exchange, textiles from India were imported into Zanzibar and into the interior. By the end of the 19th century, Germany, France, Belgium and the United States had entered the race for industrialization and subsequently for markets where to sell their industrial products--hence the colonization of Africa toward the end of the 19th century.

The European plantations required labour which was supplied by Africans. Throughout their colonial imposition, the Germans had a belief in the superiority of plantation agriculture over peasant production and, although they made some allowance for the latter, they regarded peasants mainly as potential labourers (Rodney, 1980). The mechanisms which were employed to ensure constant supply of African labour included coercion which was supervised by the "jumbes" and "akidas" of coastal and inland African communities, as well as the "askaris" who were originally conscripted from the neighbouring countries of Somalia, Sudan, southern Mozambique and the Congo (Rodney, 1980). Through forced labour, African peasants were made to work on construction sites, on private European estates and on collective farms, while the produce was appropriated by the Germans. Plantation economy thus set in motion labour migrations as well as the process of uneven development. While the labour exporting regions (like Ruvuma, Tabora and Dodoma) were depleted of their most energetic populations and subsequently underdeveloped, the labour importing regions (such as Kilimanjaro and Southern Highlands) began to commercialize agriculture and to develop an infrastructure conducive to further development.

Other measures which were taken by the German colonial government to ensure that peasants continued to produce for export included: introduction of taxation (to get money to pay the taxes, the peasants had to produce more on their farms or to sell their labour power on the plantations); enactment of orders and rules, under the supervision of the native authorities, emphasizing anti-erosion measures, adoption of better methods of cultivation and compulsory production of certain crops; and provision of cheap transport which would enable peasants to ferry their crops to the markets relatively easily and quickly.

In addition to producing cash crops for export, the peasants had also to produce crops for their own consumptions as well as for sale to other people who were not engaged in agricultural production. As Kweka (1987) showed, the peasants were exploited to the maximum and reduced to the level of merely producing the means of their livelihood. At the same time, Europeans enjoyed substantial privileges, followed by Asians who dominated the trading and commercial sectors, serving as "middle men" in the process of expropriation of capital (Unsicker, 1987).

In summary, German colonial penetration was characterized by the emergence of a plantation economy, the rise of a market-oriented peasantry, the commodification of labour, and the application of extreme forms of coercion and domination. These changes, however, did not eliminate the basic poverty of the pre-colonial economy, nor did they initiate any major technological change. Instead, they led to more and more structural underdevelopment.

The Germans were defeated in the First World War and the British took over Tanzania as a Mandate, under the League of Nations. After the Second World War, it was converted to a United Nations Trust Territory status. British political hegemony started on the Island of Zanzibar where, by 1886, they had successfully manoeuvred the Sultan of Zanzibar to stop slave trade and to abandon his claim on the mainland strip of the coast, as wide as ten miles, including Dar-es-Salaam, Tanga and Mombasa. In 1870, the Sultan sought British protection, whereby the Island became a protectorate under the British administration.

The British relied heavily on the traditional chiefs in their entire colonial administration. Nevertheless, the content and the consequences of their colonial rule were not fundamentally different from those of their predecessors. The rhetoric was "development," which was perceived as an increase in economic activity presumed to be of benefit to the indigenous people through raising the levels of individual incomes and government revenue required for providing services to individual citizens (Bowles, 1980).

Following the theory of comparative advantage, the British emphasized that tropical Tanzania should concentrate on exporting commodities which it could produce, namely sisal, cotton, coffee and cashewnuts. Thus, the links with international capital were not altered; rather, they were strengthened. As Bowles (1980:165) pointed out:

> The political economy of Tanganyika during the period 1939-61 was, according to this argument, one in which the colonial state operated to create and maintain dependence, not least on the part of those individuals who received higher incomes as a result of it.

After the Second World War, Britain found herself facing critical dollar and food shortage. To resolve the crisis, government intervention in the peasant sector was intensified and, realizing that peasant production was limited particularly due to poor methods of agriculture, European plantation and farming were expanded. Like in the German colonial era, the peasants were the losers. For example, they were forced to grow cotton in accordance with the Defence Regulations of 1940 and the Native Authority Ordinance of 1942, while the Europeans and Asians pursued the sisal industry which was allowed to regulate itself. In addition, European producers were favoured through guaranteed prices and subsidies while the peasants were given guaranteed prices only when and where coercion proved futile. In that case, the guaranteed prices themselves were exploitatively low (Bowles, 1980).

The relations between the colonialists and the people of Tanzania were in most cases of conflicts and tensions. The cotton scheme which, by 1905, had been established in all the coastal districts south of Dar-es-Salaam, as well as in Morogoro, became very unpopular among African labourers. First, the land which was chosen for cultivation was unsuitable, leading to poor crops. Second, the work was badly organized and accompanied by a lot of abuses. And, third, hardly any profit was realized from the work, consequently the workers were poorly paid. The Zaramos, for example, refused to accept the 35 cents offered to each one for the first yield (Gwassa, 1973). This popular resistance to colonial imposition culminated in a massive war which broke out in the Matumbi area in July of 1905, commonly known as Maji Maji War. About 75,000 Tanzanians perished in that war, which ended in 1907 (Coulson, 1982:31). Although Tanzanians were defeated, largely due to technological inferiority and lack of unity, their resistance became a contributing factor in the reformation of policies by colonialists and provided a lesson in the study of early Tanzanian nationalism as well as the reconstruction of future nationalism.

After the failure of the armed struggle, Tanzanians resorted to participation in various educational, economic and political activities which they hoped would improve their social status and increase their capacity to fight the colonialists. This was another form of resistance which Illiffe (1969) called the "Age of Improvement," noting that "the characteristic organisation was the welfare association in which these new men combined together to improve themselves" (p. 12).

Other instances of African resistance to colonial hegemony took the following forms, among others: (a) the formation of small ethnic associations in the 1920s, to cater for the welfare of the respective ethnic communities; (b) establishment of co-operative unions such as the Bukoba-Bahaya Union (1924) which sought to eliminate colonial exploitation; (c) the founding of the Tanganyika African Association (TAA) in 1929, aimed at fighting for the welfare of the top civil servants; and (d) the launching of Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) in 1954, whose main objective was to fight for independence.

Tanzania regained her independence in 1961. However, while colonialism retreated politically, it retained its economic positions. The process of underdevelopment continued unabated. Tanzania inherited, and never stopped to rely on, the financial structures and institutions created by the former colonial state. Her economy, based on undiversified export crops, continued to be externally controlled, reducing the country to a mere raw materials producer within the global economy.

Current Efforts at Building Socialism and Self-Reliance

When Tanzania achieved independence, the problem for the newly independent state was how to resolve various contradictions and struggles which were inherited from the colonial era and which were becoming even more obvious and antagonistic.

As a whole, and as has already been pointed out, the Tanzanian people were increasingly being incorporated into the world economic order, characterized by increasing loans, investments, and imports from and exports to the capitalist countries. So was the case with the import-substitution industries whose inputs generally originated overseas; ownership was foreign; profits were exported abroad; and techniques and management also came from parent companies (Resnick, 1981). Although there was a healthy average annual rate of private capital formation, of 15 percent in the period 1961-66, there was only little capital accumulation within the country due to extracted surpluses (Resnick, 1981:60).

The class interests of the peasants and workers stood in contradistinction with those of the Europeans, Asians and well-to-do Africans who were benefitting from the country's transition to capitalism. Second, there were also conflicts and tensions between peasants and workers on the one hand and the bureaucrats, politicians, "progressive farmers," labour-employing farmers, and cooperative movement officials on the other (Resnick, 1981). Third, as Resnick has continued to show, in urban areas there were contradictions between civil servants, parastatal bureaucrats, politicians and some clerical and management people working in the private sector and factory, office, commercial workers, labourers and squatters. The former did not own the means of production. Nevertheless, their influence over them and over the distribution of income, thanks to their position, was considerable. In the rural areas, class differentiation existed between what Resnick (1981) has called "progressive innovators," namely owners of lorries and small transport companies, individual farmers utilizing manufactured equipment, farmers employing labour, some politicians and most cooperative movement officials, and the traditional peasants and herders.

Above all, within the first five years of independence (1961-1966), Tanzania came to realize that the anticipated foreign assistance was not, and would not be, forthcoming in sufficient amounts to finance her development plans. On the other hand, reliance on foreign aid, whatever the source, would in the final analysis endanger her political freedom. This increasing class differentiation and decreasing foreign assistance became an important factor in the evolution of the current development strategy of the Tanzanian state: a set of policies and programs intended to promote economic growth; distribution and redistribution of the societal resources in order to benefit the mass of the population; and minimization of the country's dependence on the major industrial states (Samoff, 1974:227).

All these components, among others, were subsumed, at least at policy level, in the Arusha Declaration (1967) which sought to promote equality, maintain national self-reliance, create a socialist environment and enhance democratic participation (Pratt, 1979). Relatively greater equality has been achieved through a set of policies including income tax, wage and salary policies which have to some extent contributed to the reduction of income differential between the most highly paid and the most lowly paid in the country. In 1967, for example, the top salary in the public sector of the economy was 29 times as much as the minimum wage. After taxation, the proportion was 20:1. In 1976, the highest paid employee in the public sector took home only nine times as much as the minimum wage earner did (Nyerere, 1979). Greater equality has also been realized through the provision of basic services such as education, which has been universalized, health services, water supply, etc., to all peasants and workers.

However, when the not-too-few fringe benefits of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the increasing economic strength of the commercial bourgeoisie are taken into account, particularly at this point in time when economic liberalization is gaining unprecedented momentum in the country, some elements of income inequality become more and more apparent. Above all, socialism is not simply a redistributive ideology. It is also, and must be, an economic development strategy. Otherwise, "socialism will surely go sour in Tanzania if it comes to be associated in the popular mind with a perpetuation of mass poverty" (Pratt, 1979:228).

The Arusha Declaration placed emphasis on rural development, since the majority of Tanzanians live and work in rural areas. Among other things, the goals of rural development include generation of new employment, more equitable access to arable land, a fair distribution of income, greater improvements in health nutrition and housing, widening of opportunities for all individuals to develop fully their potential through education, and giving all rural people a genuine opportunity to participate in the decision-making processes affecting their lives (Coombs and Ahmed Manzoor, 1974). Thus, Kitching (1982:105) commented as follows:

> . . . a policy of priority to rural development was defended both on grounds of equity (and especially of giving priority to the needs of the poorest people) and on the grounds that

> Tanzania's previous policy of giving priority to urban areas and to industrialization had failed. For, it was agreed, the previous strategy could not be sustained without large amounts of foreign investment which were not forthcoming in the required quantities.

The organizational set-up for achieving all those goals was initially conceived as an "ujamaa village"--a "nucleated settlement of peasants" who are largely dependent on agriculture, and engaging in a variety of communal or collective production, while retaining some private plots for growing crops for their own consumption. A village thus conceived would evolve through three stages: a preparatory stage involving settlement and clearing of land; laying down the foundations of farming collectively and carrying out communal activities; and, finally, registration of the village as a multi-purpose society eligible for rural development bank loans (Mittelman, 1981).

It is interesting, however, to note that the distribution of the village stages corresponded with the pattern of uneven development in the country. Mittelman (1981:198), for example, discovered that although about 70 percent of the villagers in 1972 were living in five of the more underdeveloped regions (Dodoma, Iringa, Mara, Mtwara, Lindi), the rich regions (Mwanza, Coast, Tabora) were among those which were leading in stage three villages. Because of that, they were receiving more credit allocations and cultivated mainly cash crops while their counterparts continued to grow mainly food crops.

In the period 1967-1973, peasants were voluntarily shifting to communal production under the guidance of the party. But in the period 1974-76, _all_ rural Tanzanians _had_ to live in "planned" villages, where block farming increasingly replaced communal agriculture. A law was passed in 1975 (Villages and Ujamaa Villages Act) making provision for the registration of all villages as multi-purpose societies. Kitching (1982:106) reported that by 1974, over 2.25 million Tanzanians were already living in more than 5,000 villages. By 1976, all rural Tanzanians were living together in _villages_ or in _ujamaa villages_.

Villagization was thus an instance of massive mobilization throughout the country and it did achieve some positive results. It facilitated the creation of an infrastructure for reaching the peasants; it made it easier for the state to render the requisite services (social and economic) to the peasants in addition to facilitating more formal and informal interactions between the peasants and the development personnel, as well as among the peasants themselves. These interactions have, in turn, enhanced a healthy educational process in many instances. Villagization was also intended to create conditions conducive to peasants' access to, and adoption of, modern agricultural knowledge and inputs, thereby raising agricultural productivity (Ng'wandu, 1973).

However, the program was implemented most hurriedly, in a number of cases using not only extremely deficient planning techniques but even violence (Mapolu, 1986). In some cases, this led not only to selection of unsuitable sites but also to social dislocation, resulting in widespread resentment and even open opposition to the party and government (Mapolu, 1986). It also led to an unfortunate decline in agricultural production, from an average level of 4.0 percent of the annual Gross Domestic Product in the period 1964-67 to 2.6 percent in 1970, and still lower to 1.5 percent between 1973 and 1975 (Mapolu, 1986:129).

Above all, the incorporation of the rural population into villages marked a new type of state apparatus with uniform legal and administrative structures, having full-time salaried political officials and technicians to supervise their economic performance. The class character of the whole program, therefore, needs to be addressed for a further understanding of the prospects and problems of development at the local level. For Mittelman (1981), in most Third World societies villagization in many cases serves as another mechanism for subordinating the masses to the requirements of capital accumulation while, politically, the regrouping of the masses in villages strengthens state control at the grassroots level. With specific reference to Tanzania, Mapolu (1986:121) wrote:

> Villagization marked the apex of the state bourgeoisie's efforts to put rural production under its hegemony. If the "commanding heights" of the economy had been "won" by the end of the sixties, clearly smallholder production in which close to 90% of the population had participated had to be tackled sooner or later. But smallholder production could not be tackled by "nationalization" measures; re-settlement of peasants in chosen localities to facilitate state supervision and control was the logical strategy to be adopted.

Thus, the type of leadership found in a given village and the manner in which it is brought to bear on peasants' participation in decision making becomes an important question in any analysis of problems and prospects of development at the local level. Such an analysis is attempted in Chapter VI. However, there is also the question of people's participation in the overall economic development at the national and institutional level, which brings in another dimension of the Tanzanian state development strategy, namely public ownership of the major means of production.

Immediately after launching the Arusha Declaration (1967), nationalization measures were taken to ensure local control over financial institutions to block the repatriation of large profits by the multinational corporations and to improve the country's development planning capacity, in an attempt to be self-reliant.

Nationalization was undoubtedly an important policy decision, especially for a country which had declared to build a socialist state. After nationalization, profits generated by the parastatal organizations were mostly retained within the country. In the period 1967-1976, for example, total net profits accumulated by the National Bank of Commerce alone, amounting to 557.3 million shillings, were retained in the country (Nyerere, 1979:46). What should be underscored here, however, is the point that nationalization per se is not a sufficient condition for socialist transformation, as some people both in Tanzania and outside have tended to think. For there must also be socialization of the forces of production. As Mittelman (1983:239) rightly cautioned:

> . . . nationalization differs from socialization. If nationalization means that a state takes over ownership of what capitalists have accumulated, socialization is the capacity to assert social control over those forces of production. Socialization implies that the interests of the majority dominate the state apparatus and that surplus appropriation benefits the immediate producers themselves.

Tanzanian Social Formation

To what extent is the Tanzanian state in transition to socialism? There has been a rigorous debate, both among Marxists and non-Marxists (inside and outside Tanzania), regarding this question (see, for example, Cliffe and Saul, 1972; Shivji, 1976; Mwansasu and Pratt, 1979; Saul, 1979;

Mittelman, 1981). What ties the whole discussion together, however, is a general consensus that any transition is a long-term process through which one mode of production is destroyed and replaced by another one: The economic, political and ideological instances of the social structure comprising a given formation have to be transformed (Mittelman, 1981).

In Tanzania, the foundations for initiating such a process were laid down in 1967, but the task has not been accomplished. As Nyerere (in Coulson, 1979:43) pointed out:

> Ten years after the Arusha Declaration, Tanzania is certainly neither socialist, nor self-reliant. The nature of exploitation has changed, but it has not been altogether eliminated. There are still great inequalities between citizens. Our democracy is imperfect. A life of poverty is still the experience of the majority of our citizens. Too many of our people still suffer from the indignities of preventable disease and ignorance, and the aged and disabled do not all live in decency or even security, despite the clear statement in the Declaration that they have a right to support. Further, our nation is still economically dependent upon the vagaries of the weather, and upon economic and political decisions taken by other peoples without our participation or consent. And this latter is not a reciprocal situation. Tanzania is still a dependent nation, not an interdependent one.

That situation has not changed and is not likely to change for many years to come. This fact is well articulated in the Chama cha Mapinduzi (1988) program which spells out the role of the party as well as the state in the process of transition to socialism for the period 1987-

2002. The program states categorically that Tanzania's economy is a neo-colonial one--a peripheral, underdeveloped and dependent economy sustained by low levels of productive forces.

As a whole, Tanzania's social formation is one of underdeveloped capitalism (Mbilinyi, 1979). A social formation is the totality of varying economic relations constituting the basis of the social entity or a configuration of modes of production where one is dominant and defines the character of society (Youngman, 1985). Capitalism penetrated the Tanzanian society unevenly both in terms of geographical location and sectoral growth, but capitalist relations have not totally destroyed all remnants of pre-capitalist modes of production (Mbilinyi, 1980). Hence the legitimate discussion on the existence of a peasant mode of production in rural Tanzania (see Hyden, 1980). However, as Mbilinyi (1980:7) observed:

> As a result of struggles of the state and capitals, combined with the commoditisation process in production and reproduction, peasants are being effectively dispossessed. Peasants' control over the means of production and their labour time is rapidly diminishing as is their relative standard of living.

Household peasant production of agricultural commodities and state farms employing labour provide the basis for capital accumulation in the country. The surplus produced by the peasants, however, is appropriated by state apparatuses and by foreign capital (Mapolu, 1986; Mbilinyi, 1980).

Nature and Character of the Tanzanian State

The Tanzanian state has assumed different forms and character in different historical periods. Under colonial rule, it was a peripheral absolutist state, an authoritarian, foreign controlled administration which forcefully extracted labour power and extended commodity relations on the basis of pre-existing forms of production (Charney, 1987). After the Second World War, the colonial state was transformed into a "developmentalist state" characterized by development and welfare activities of various kinds, notably the production of agricultural commodities to feed metropolitan industries. When political independence was regained, a "separate" national state was created: State power was de jure no longer in the hands of the former colonizing power, but in the hands of the local ruling class (Shivji, 1982). The national state was separate, at least legally, from the mother country in terms of administration.

The creation of the national state, however, did not bring about the end of economic domination by finance capital (Shivji, 1982). Economic ties with international capital were perpetuated unabated. The Tanzanian state began to operate as a neo-colonial state par excellence. Charney (1987:49) defined such a state as follows:

> I propose to define the neo-colonial state as a formally independent state, in which transnational capital is the hegemonic class and the indigenous petty bourgeoisie the reigning class, whose economy remains extroverted and subordinated to the world market, and which diffuses commodity relations within precapitalist modes of production.

In such a situation, the state bureaucracy finds itself in an intermediary position between transnational capital and the people, forcing it to make alliance on both fronts while at the same time being exposed to challenges again from both fronts: On one hand, it has to ally with international capital, partly to achieve its own interest and partly owing to the logic of dependency; on the other hand, it has to forge a populist alliance with a mass base in order to wrest control from international capital, thereby hoping to consolidate its legitimacy at home (Samoff, 1982; Kitching, 1982).

The history of post-colonial Tanzania is characterized by similar contradictions and struggles. For example, the nationalization measures of the commanding heights of the economy which were taken following the Arusha Declaration (1967) sparked off an intense struggle at a global level to the extent that they posed a threat to further penetration by international capital. At home, the efforts to build an egalitarian society in the final analysis meant preventing the aspiring commercial bourgeoisie, notably of Asian origin, and prosperous farmers, especially of mountainous areas growing cash crops, from consolidating further their economic base. At the same time, there have been instances of struggle between the working class and the state bureaucracy not only over questions of allocation of resources but also their management and overall leadership style. A case in point are the strikes and disputes which followed the introduction of the Party Guidelines in 1971, which legitimized and released popular pressures against oligarchical tendencies on the part of those in control of state power (Saul, 1979).

Policy Formulation Machinery

In Tanzania, policy making is a function of the party rather than the government. This position was clearly spelled out by President (at that time) Nyerere (in Msekwa, 1977:69-70) when he clarified that:

> For under our One Party Constitution, TANU [the then ruling party] is supreme. It is able to give directions to Government about the general policy which must be adopted for national development, and it has power to give specific instructions about priorities of action in any aspect of our national life. Further, TANU can call the Cabinet, any Minister, or any government official, to account for their activities and any failures in the execution of their duty. That is at national level. The same is true at local level. In the localities, the Branch, District, or Regional TANU Committees are the people's

> representatives. It is their task to guide and supervise the actions of all government officials in their area, and to ensure that our policies are implemented in such a way that they bring maximum benefits to the people as a whole. Further, it is through TANU that the people in our villages and towns can take part in local and national planning for future development.

With the introduction of the one party system of government in 1965, the National Executive Committee of the party "moved to a position of supremacy in decision making vis-a-vis the National Assembly" (Msekwa, 1977:1). In 1975, party supremacy was accorded formal legal status by the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania. Since then, all political activity as well as the functions of all organs of the state of the United Republic must be performed by or under the auspices of the party (Msekwa, 1977). It is the party which has the right to set long-range goals for the nation and the power to make major political decisions and effect their execution (Msekwa, 1977).

At least at a theoretical level, the debate on party supremacy which was waged both in the National Assembly and in the National Executive Committee of TANU (see Msekwa, 1977) was motivated not only by the question of power relationship between the government and the party but also by the assumption that the party was not, by its nature, a coercive instrument in society. Hence the infusion of the party structures and personnel into the overall state apparatus, which has made Tanzanian governance politically and structurally complex. Leys (1976:43) noted that "the party recruited element brings with it into the state apparatus political links with workers and peasants" and, as such, "it has tended to assume more and more importance as an organized voice of the people." While this government and party interaction has made many government officials responsive to the needs and interests of the people, it has in a number of instances made some of them overly cautious of what the party might say regarding certain implementation measures, which results in unnecessary delays or in hasty policy implementation leading to the erosion of credibility of the otherwise good policies pursued. The next chapter focuses on educational policies and practices of the Tanzanian state, through an historical-structural perspective.

CHAPTER V

EDUCATION AND STATE IN TANZANIA: AN HISTORICAL-STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS

Introduction

This chapter examines educational policies and practices of the Tanzanian state under colonial rule, after regaining political independence (1961 to 1966), after the Arusha Declaration on Socialism and Self-Reliance (1967) and in the context of the economic crisis that led the Tanzanian state to accept the IMF conditionalities in 1986. Throughout the historical-structural analysis, an attempt is made to situate literacy training policies and practices within the wider context discussed in Chapter IV, as well as within the entire educational system evolved by the Tanzanian state.

The Colonial Context: Education for Adaptation

In pre-colonial Tanzanian society, the training of producers was acquired on the job--through the transmission of family knowledge (in agriculture) and through apprenticeship (in the crafts) (Amin, 1976). During the colonial period, education in the form of schooling was used to consolidate the administrative infrastructure of the colonial state.

Educational provisions, however, were limited, particularly for Africans. By 1945, for example, there were only 1,000 primary schools, 18 secondary schools and 24 teacher-training colleges (Mbilinyi, 1977:497). Most of those who were lucky to go to school (less than 50% of all school-age children) received rural-oriented, vocational education (including literacy and numeracy skills) and a lot of farm work. The curriculum for African schools included agriculture (which was considered suitable to Africans), health, home-life training, "industry," and recreation. The objective was to reproduce a cheap labour force with low-level skills and to select a minority for higher education.

A similar pattern applied to post-elementary education. It was vocationally streamed with the majority going to industrial crafts and teacher-training streams. Only a tiny minority were admitted in the academic streams which, as Mbilinyi (1977) put it, were aimed at training the educated petty bourgeoisie in line with the government and private business "manpower" needs projections. The established politico-legal, social and public service institutions had to be manned by people like chiefs, messengers, teachers, medical auxiliaries, junior administrative staff, artisans and religious functionaries, in the case of religious institutions (Kweka, 1987).

In line with the authoritarian character of the colonial state, schools emphasized discipline, punctuality, acceptance of authority outside the family, and individual accountability for one's work. Thus, the colonial education department explained in 1924:

> Our objective is . . . an educational system which will provide for African needs and at the same time produce a virile and loyal citizen of the Empire . . . where character, health, industry and a proper appreciation of the dignity of manual labour rank as of first importance. . . the school . . . is the centre of all government propaganda work. (In Mbilinyi, 1979b:78)

Colonial education, therefore, served as an ideological state apparatus (Hirji, 1979) and contributed to further social differentiation. The educational system was racially segregated: Different schools and different curricula were introduced for African, European and Asian children, particularly at primary and middle-school levels, offering greater and better educational opportunities for the European and Asian children, as can be deduced from Table 3.

Thus, European children were the most favoured: They were being allocated a budget which was twenty times and eight times more than that of African and Asian children, respectively. Commenting on this imbalance in government expenditure, Rodney (1967:71) wrote:

Table 3
Net Expenditure on Education in 1946

Table 3 has been removed due to the unavailability of copyright permission

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Source: Mbilinyi M J. "African Education during the British Colonial Period 1919-1961," in Kaniki (ed.)(1980). *Tanzania under Colonial Rule*. London: Longman Group Ltd

> Tanganyika offered a clear-cut example of the deliberate manipulation of educational opportunities by the metropolitan power to maintain the equilibrium of a colonial society. Education was generously given to the children of European settlers, more carefully dispensed among Asian children and very parsimoniously rationed among the children of the African soil.

In doing that, however, the colonial government was aware of the potential explosive nature of their educational policies. Responding to a question which he was asked by Governor Cameron about the viability of initiating a racially integrated school system, for example, Rivers-Smith (in Mbilinyi, 1979b:79) argued:

> There is the political aspect which in all schemes of education should be kept constantly in view. With the knowledge of political developments during the last few years in India, we cannot afford to ignore the possibility of an unfortunate African political repercussion in future years as a result of the development of a closer liaison between the two races which might be a result of co-education.

Rivers-Smith was indeed pointing to contradictions embedded in colonial educational policies and practices. Such contradictions were also reflected in adult education and literacy training.

Adult Education and Literacy Training under Colonial Rule

Adult education and literacy training activities, spearheaded by Christian missionaries, were used to enhance Christianity as well as colonial penetration: Christian missions organized Sunday-school classes (which included adults), youth clubs, women's associations and brigades and scouts. They taught literacy classes to their converts to enable them to read the Bible and to get catechists who would help them spread the word of God. But they also imparted agricultural, commercial, clerical and various forms of manual skills which were used by Tanzanians in the service of the various government departments. What is even more striking is the kind of social stratification which the missionaries invented and followed: They offered literacy education to the brightest; skilled trades (smithing, masonry, carpentry) to the average; and manual work to those they considered to be below average (Kweka, 1987).

Religious instruction offered by missionaries was also aimed at inculcating good (sic) citizenship through discipline and obedience. Similarly, both the Germans and the British initiated programs in areas such as printing, carpentry, tailoring, woodwork, metal work, as well as literacy and numeracy, and emphasized discipline, punctuality, acceptance of authority outside the family and individual accountability for one's work. The main intention was to produce people loyal to the colonial state. Thus, Harris (1910:54) noted that the education system was remarkable in the manner in which it conveyed to local people "knowledge of the German Reich, the German

Kaiser and his representative and how to show them the necessary respect and reverence."

In its Memorandum on the Education of African Communities, the British Advisory Committee on Education in 1935 pointed out that agriculture was the basis of African life and that school teachers, as well as other personnel from voluntary agencies, could be used as agents of promoting social change. Regarding education, the committee argued that if any significant change was to occur in the African communities, adult education had to be given sufficient attention. Toward the end of the Second World War (1944), another memorandum entitled "Mass Education" was issued by the committee; it re-emphasized the importance of adult education, particularly literacy training, and the need to design educational projects on the basis of the needs of the local community, notably increased agricultural productivity.

After the Second World War (1946), the colonial office found it necessary to take some measures "to contain the growing political pressures for liberation in the African colonies" (Mbilinyi, 1975:8). Social welfare organizations were established to provide facilities for holding meetings, discussions, indoor games, libraries and other recreational facilities such as dancing. Later, in 1949, the welfare organizations were reorganized to become a government department known as the Social Welfare

Department. This department extended its activities to include those of youth clubs, adult education and probation services. In 1951, the activities of the department were further extended to reach rural areas and, in 1952, it was changed into Social Development Department under a Commission for Social Development. The new department was now to cater for literacy training, women's groups, youth clubs, and self-help activities in selected rural areas while in urban areas more emphasis was placed on general adult education. In 1961, the year in which Tanganyika became independent, the department was transformed into a national organization and re-designated Community Development Division.

It should be noted at this juncture that, while the colonial government was organizing such adult education and literacy training activities to rationalize colonial rule, the peasants and workers, on the other hand, were also organizing themselves in various forms to challenge colonial domination. The nationalist party, TANU, for example, organized mass rallies, lectures and campaigns to educate its members, as well as the general populace, on its agenda of fighting against colonial domination. It is also important to note that although educational provisions under colonial rule were minimal both for men and women, they were even more limited for the latter. During the entire German colonial rule, not a single government school was built for girls. Formal education opportunities for girls were only available in mission schools where they received a minimal one or two years of literacy training and catechism. A few government girls' schools established during the British colonial period were meant "to provide the educated African with a suitable 'counterpart'" (Mbilinyi, 1975:192). Thus, about 80 percent of the Tanzanian women were illiterate at the time of regaining independence.

After Independence: Education for Modernization

At the end of the colonial era, the economic ties between Tanzania and the metropole were not severed, they were strengthened. On the one hand there was the former colonial power which was strengthened by its technological development, control of the international money market and its position as a buyer of raw materials from the former colony. On the other hand, there was Tanzania seeking to expand the modern sector of the economy, to increase productivity and to import more consumer goods, more capital equipment and more foreign technical skills (Rodney, 1981). It was thus a relationship between a satellite and a metropole par excellence.

With the ideas of the United Nations development decade in the vogue, Tanzania focused on educational expansion as a way of creating a pool of manpower needed to fill the positions left vacant by the colonial personnel. Politically, it was a way of legitimizing the newly independent state, as reflected in the emphasis on nation-state formation, participation in on-going transformations and mobilization in support of the new regime. Socially there was increasing popular demand for formal education by a population which was rapidly expanding. This was in part due to the fact that continued economic and cultural domination of the least developed countries by the more affluent nations of the world had perpetuated a positive image of academic education in the eyes of the local population. Above all, there were the glaring income disparities between those who had formal education, starting at the secondary level, and those who had none. Thus, many parents and many children aspired (and continue to aspire) for more and more formal education.

What was needed, therefore, was expansion of the formal education system, especially at the secondary level in order to become self-sufficient in middle- and high-level manpower. Thus, the 1961-64 Development Plan underscored the importance of secondary and higher educational expansion, hoping that the outcome would be faster economic growth and modernization. In the 1964-69 Development Plan, the emphasis on secondary education was even greater. Subsequently, primary education received relatively dismal attention, manifested in the pattern of government expenditure on education: Between 1962 and 1966, for example, expenditure on secondary and higher education increased from 33 to 42 percent of the total educational budget, while for primary education it declined from 53 to 41 percent (Cooksey and Ishumi, 1986:4). Enrolments in aided secondary schools increased by 100 percent between 1961 and 1966. However, due to a number of factors, including parental and political pressure, poor communications between Dar-es-Salaam and upcountry, weak and ill-defined bureaucratic structures, inexperienced civil servants and increased local autonomy in school construction, primary education also expanded in the same period: Enrolments increased by over 50 percent (Cooksey and Ishumi, 1986:4).

In order to resolve some of the contradictions which had been inherited from the colonial times, and others which were emerging both in the Tanzanian society and within the education system, the government adopted measures to reform the colonial curricula and to exert more state control over the education system. These measures were, among others, elimination of racial and religious segregation, abolition of primary schools, adoption of Swahili as the medium of instruction in primary schools, and decolonization of the content of the syllabuses: localization of subjects such as history and geography and introduction of nationalist-content-oriented civics in both primary and secondary schools. However, all these changes were introduced without transforming the capitalist socio-economic system and, as such, they would not serve the best interests of peasants and workers (Rodney, 1981). What was needed was a fundamental departure not only from the colonial education system but also from the capitalist mode of production.

Adult Education and Literacy Training in the Early Independence Era

Adult education and literacy training efforts suffered similar pitfalls since they too were carried out in the absence of socio-economic transformation in the wider society. At the time of regaining political independence, adult illiteracy rate in the country was as high as 75 percent (Mpogolo, 1985). And yet the government was concentrating its efforts on the provision of expanded formal education to children. It came to be realized by both the party and the government that no meaningful development would be achieved by relying on a largely illiterate population, let alone the fact that education was a basic human right. Adult education was presumed to have the capacity to contribute to the new tasks of building a sound economic base, creating a reservoir of trained (African) personnel to man the positions left vacant by the colonialists, consolidating national unity, and strengthening the instruments of the state as a whole.

A ministry of community development and national culture was established and given the responsibility of mobilizing the masses for social and economic progress. Operating as change agents, the community development workers organized literacy classes and women's groups as well as self-help projects such as construction of feeder roads, houses, wells, latrines, classrooms, dispensaries, etc. By January, 1965, there were 7,257 literacy classes with a total enrolment of 541,562 adult learners (206,214 men and 335,348 women). There were also 440 follow-up classes, in English and Arithmetic, with a total enrolment of 14,043 adult learners as well as 1,914 women's groups pursuing cooking, sewing, embroidery, child care, etc., with a total enrolment of 112,739 (Mpogolo, 1980a).

However, although adult education was considered by the party and the government to be an integral and vital part of the country's development strategy, and some adult education activities were being started or expanded in different parts of the country, there was not yet either a clearly defined national ideology or a well articulated national policy on adult education. Government funds allocated to adult education and literacy training activities did not reflect the importance that was being attached to the latter. The quality of the literacy training process inside the literacy classes left much to be desired: The community development workers in rural areas, partly due to lack of proper training in adult education work and suitable reading materials, conducted literacy classes in the traditional narrow 3-Rs approach using reading materials which had not been written primarily for adults. Assuming that the peasants were largely conservative, ignorant and incapable of initiating and implementing their own development plans, the community development staff-cum-literacy teachers adopted a very paternalistic attitude and approach to handling adults in the literacy classes (Hall, 1976).

All these factors had negative consequences on adult learners' motivation to enrol and to attend literacy classes. According to King (1967), attendance rates in literacy classes ranged from 79 percent down to 11 percent. In most districts and in most months it was only about 25 percent. The problem was further compounded by adult learners' perceptions of the utility of literacy skills. While for the state functionaries to organize literacy training was to engage in a nationalistic undertaking, for most adult learners to participate in literacy training was to be involved in an activity that was more suitable for children. Hence many drop-outs from literacy classes.

The government responded by making attendance compulsory for all those who were eligible for literacy classes, using threat of sanctions and even treating absences from literacy classes as crime punishable at times by lock-ups and/or cash fines (Ishumi, 1981). Consequently, literacy classes came to be hated by many adult learners who increasingly viewed literacy training as an extension of state control over their lives. A number of them were going to literacy classes either to please the authorities or to pass time (Ishumi, 1981).

Arusha Declaration and After: Education for Self-Reliance

The Arusha Declaration (1967) laid down a general framework for the task of transforming the inherited colonial socio-economic structure: Tanzania was now to build a socialist, democratic and self-reliant nation, through proper utilization of people's own effort and initiative, land resources, good policies and good leadership. A greater emphasis was given to the people: "In order to properly implement the policy of self-reliance, the people have to be taught the meaning of self-reliance and its practice" (Nyerere, 1968:33). Hence the introduction of Education for Self-Reliance (1967) which advocated a fundamental departure from the earlier concern for mere educational expansionism to the concern for relevance and appropriateness of education for the new society envisioned (Komba and Temu, 1987).

Blaming the colonial education system for being consumption and privilege-oriented, aimed at schooling a few and in the process divorcing them from their society, Education for Self-Reliance promised to overhaul the entire inherited system in terms of its purpose, content, process and organizational structure. Among other things, schooling was to be a mental as well as a productive undertaking, oriented toward rural areas particularly to agriculture, and laying the foundation for socialist and self-reliant practice. The temptation to intellectual arrogance among the educated had to be counteracted through the development of cooperative attitudes, respect for manual labour, creativity, critical thinking and self-confidence, as well as through increased integration with the surrounding community. Above all, schooling had to reinforce egalitarian values and inculcate loyalty to the party and the government as well as to the peasants and workers.

Other policy documents were issued elaborating on how to further implement Education for Self-Reliance. These included the then President Nyerere's speech, "Education for Liberation" (1974), and the Musoma Resolutions of the TANU National Executive Committee (1974). In his "Education for Liberation" speech, Nyerere noted and stressed that attitudinal change per se was not a sufficient condition for the liberation of the masses.

Knowledge and skills were also required if people's liberation was to be effected. Second, economic development and increased productivity were not simply for profit maximization, to be appropriated by a few members of society, but they were intended for meeting the growing consumption and production needs of the masses--the peasants and workers.

The Musoma Resolutions advocated Universal Primary Education by the year 1977, partly in response to increasing parents' demands for more educational opportunity for their children. To that effect a number of measures were to be taken both by the party and the government, including mass mobilization and self-help; introduction of innovative teaching-learning strategies such as the use of local resources for teaching, as well as the use of older school pupils, school leavers and secondary school students without overlooking local craftsmen, peasants and elders. The same measures were proposed for expanding secondary education, stressing once again the need to unite education and work in all educational institutions not only to meet the costs of schooling but also to ascertain that the youth developed the correct attitude regarding manual labour as future peasants and workers.

While Education for Self-Reliance made a breakthrough in educational policy formulation within a newly independent state, its implementation has fallen short of expectations, particularly with reference to the notion of education with production. In his comparative study of productivity between students and villages in four crops (maize, beans, cotton and cassava), Nkonoki (in Komba and Temu, 1987:53) discovered that students' production per unit area was below that of average peasants: Students' production of maize and cotton per unit area was half that of the average peasant. The corresponding figures for beans and cassava were one-third and one-fourth that of average peasants', respectively. This poor performance in economic production could be explained in part by the stronger desire of both teachers and students to perform better in academic work which is by far more rewarding in Third World societies (Bacchus, 1979).

Unfortunately, few studies have attempted to analyse the more social and political consequences of Education for Self-Reliance. Nevertheless, there is evidence to show that in most schools the so-called "self-reliance projects" were introduced and organized as economic ventures per se, rather than as moments of learning functional knowledge, skills, values and useful school-community relations (Komba and Temu, 1987). On the other hand, many schools devoted much of their time and other resources on the implementation of purely economic ventures rather than the pursuit of academic excellence, thereby contributing to the unfortunate erosion of educational quality (Ndunguru, 1976). And although local communities contributed to the establishment of particularly primary schools virtually throughout the country, their power over the structure and process of education has remained unclear (Komba and Temu, 1987).

Furthermore, in spite of the strong emphasis laid on self-reliance by the Tanzanian state, the country continues to rely heavily on foreign aid in implementing her educational policies (Samoff, forthcoming). External aid accounts for about 50 percent of the development budget of the Ministry of education and "it is conspicuous that Tanzania is one of the most donor friendly countries in the world" (Department of Education, University of Dar-es-Salaam, 1985:9). At the same time, there has been increasing state approval for private secondary education, especially in the 1980s, largely due to increasing popular demand within the country[1] and also owing to World Bank expansionist policies.[2] Table 4 shows the number of

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[1] Mass demand for general secondary education was translated into public policy and emphasized in the Presidential Commission on Education which, among other things, promised to double government secondary schools in a decade and to raise the percentage of Form I intake to 15 percent.

[2] By 1980, the World Bank was arguing that in order to meet the demands for high-level manpower requirements, the number of graduates had to be doubled. According to the World Bank, there was a need to invest in 26 new Form V-VI Science and Maths streams in order to meet the demand for Science based professionals such as pharmacists, engineers, technicians and Science teachers (Cooksey and Ishumi, 1986).

Table 4
Number of Government and Private Secondary Schools, 1967 – 1986

	Government		Private		Total		Percent Private	
Year	Schools	Students	Schools	Students	Schools	Students	Schools	Students
1967	72	25,557	30	8,565	102	34,122	29.4	25.1
1968	73	28,043	35	7,571	108	35,614	32.4	21.3
1969	74	29,958	37	8,092	111	38,050	33.3	21.3
1970	74	31,217	40	9,961	114	41,178	35.1	24.2
1971	75	32,603	41	10,749	116	43,352	35.3	24.8
1972	76	33,288	40	10,503	116	43,791	34.5	24.0
1973	80	34,502	44	12,623	124	47,125	35.5	26.8
1974	81	35,926	53	14,366	134	50,292	39.6	28.6
1975	81	38,327	--	15,038	--	53,365	--	28.2
1976	81	39,947	61	17,196	142	57,143	43.0	30.1
1977	81	41,965	--	19,213	--	61,178	--	31.4
1978	84	41,792	71	22,400	155	64,192	45.8	34.9
1979	83	40,298	69	28,003	152	68,301	45.4	41.0
1980	83	38,830	71	28,466	154	67,296	46.1	42.3
1981	83	38,292	75	29,310	158	67,602	47.5	43.4
1982	85	38,983	81	30,162	166	69,145	48.8	43.6
1983	85	39,737	82	31,536	167	71,273	49.1	44.2
1984	85	40,617	84	33,591	169	74,208	49.7	45.3
1985	85	42,892	96	36,633	181	79,525	53.0	46.1
1986	95	43,911	107	45,703	202	89,614	53.0	51.0

Source: Adapted from Samoff, J "Modernizing" a Socialist Vision: Education in Tanzania In M. Carnoy & J Samoff (eds.), *Education Social Transformation and the Transition State* (forthcoming) government and private secondary schools in the period 1967-1986.

It is noticeable from Table 4 that while in 1967 (the year of the Arusha Declaration) private secondary schools were only slightly more than a quarter (29.4%) of the total secondary schools, by 1986 the number of private secondary schools had risen to more than half (53.0%). The number of students in these schools did also increase: In 1967, students in private secondary schools were about one-quarter of the whole secondary school intake in the country; in 1986, they were already more than half (51%). Table 4 also shows that the number of schools (government and private) as well as the number of students (in government and private schools) have been increasing since 1967.

Adult Education and Literacy Training after the Arusha Declaration

The aims and objectives of adult education and literacy training in the Tanzanian state attempting to build socialism were first explained in the Second Five Year Development Plan (1969-1974) and later elaborated upon in Mwalimu Nyerere's "Adult Education Year" speech (1969), the 15th and 16th TANU Biennial Conferences (1971 and 1973 respectively), and the Prime Minister's Directive on Workers' Education (1973).

The Second Five Year Development Plan pointed out that adult education would be geared toward improving the standards of living in rural areas:

> The main emphasis in adult education in this plan period will be on rural development. It will include simple training in agricultural techniques and craftmanship, health education, housecraft, simple economics and accounting, and education in politics and the responsibilities of the citizen. (p. 12)

The main organizing responsibility would lie on the primary school which would operate as "a community education centre, at which the provision of primary education is only one function" (p. 13). In addition to their regular duties of teaching children, primary school teachers were also required to teach adult literacy classes. Various ministries and organizations offering instruction in different subjects related to development were asked to cooperate in adult education work and provision was made for the establishment of a National Correspondence Institute to cater for "second chance learning" throughout the country.

The role of adult education in development was re-emphasized in Nyerere's Adult Education Year speech. Asking the nation to make 1970 a special year for adult education, he said:

> . . . although there has been a lot of talk about education for adults, and quite a lot of people have been working in this field, we have never yet really organized ourselves for a major attack on our ignorance. The Central Committee of TANU has decided that we must do this in 1970. The

> coming twelve months must be "Adult Education Year" and we must give this work very high priority. (in Freedom and Development, p. 137)

Specifying the aims and objectives of adult education in Tanzania, he emphasized the point raised in the Second Five Year Development Plan, that adult education should be oriented toward improving the quality of life of the peasants and workers by enabling them to build better houses, to use better tools in order to raise agricultural and industrial productivity, and to improve their health through employing modern methods of hygiene. Furthermore, adult education ought to help in changing people's attitudes toward themselves, their fellow human beings and their own cultural milieu, while also enabling them to understand national economic development plans so that they can play their part in making them a success for the benefit of all.

One year later, the 15th TANU Biennial Conference (1971) directed that all plans be made to eradicate illiteracy within four years (Resolution 22) and that education should be integrated with work throughout the country (Resolution 21). Later on, in 1973, the 16th TANU Biennial Conference called upon all the leaders to make adult education work a priority, seeing to it that all programs were implemented as planned (Resolution 27). In the same year, the Prime Minister's office issued a directive on workers' education, calling upon all work places to design education and training programs for their workers of all levels, to allow their workers to engage in educational activities at least for one hour each day, and to set aside a special budget for workers' education activities. Table 5 shows the main official policy statements on adult education and literacy training in Tanzania.

At policy level, therefore, the main objectives of adult education and literacy training in the post-Arusha Declaration period include eradication of illiteracy and creation of a basic foundation upon which each can continue to search for more knowledge and skills to enable him/her to function effectively in society (social rationale); improvement of vocational and professional competency of peasants and workers to help them raise their level of income and increase their capacity to contribute to national economic growth (economic rationale); and raising the general level of awareness of the citizenry regarding local, national and international issues so that they can become more effective participants in the polity (political rationale). As such, adult education and literacy training policies continue to be informed by the human capital theory of the modernization era, emphasizing skill and knowledge transmission for increased productivity and modernization rather than skill and knowledge creation for human liberation. Furthermore, the policies have

Table 5
Analysis of Policy Statements on Adult Education in Tanzania[(a)]

Policy Document	General Aims	Objectives	Program Areas	Measures to be Taken
Second Five-Year Plan (1969/74)	To promote rural development	To offer training in agricultural techniques and craftmanship. To improve health standards of the people. To enable people to build modern houses. To impart basic skills in economics and accounting. To impart basic knowledge in politics and the responsibility of the citizen.	-Agriculture -Handicraft -Health education -Housecraft -Simple economics -Simple accounting -Political education	Primary schools to become adult (community) education centres.
Adult Education Year Speech (31 Dec./1969)	To improve the living conditions of the people. To raise the political consciousness of the people.	To enable people to build better houses. To enable people to use better tools to raise agricultural and industrial productivity. To help the people to use modern methods of hygiene. To impart basic skills/techniques in preparing a balanced diet. To enable the people to understand national economic plans so that they participate in implementing dhem. To restore people's confidence in their own abilities both potential and actual. To enable the people to make simple furniture.	-Economics -Accounting -Workers' education -Home economics -Crafts -Cooperative education -Political education	All government and party leaders, all institutions and organizations, as well as all literates to participate in the mass drive against illiteracy
15th & 16th TANU Biennial Conferences (1971-1973)	To eradicate illiteracy. To integrate education with work.	To work out plans for wiping out illiteracy within four years. To work out plans for integrating education with work.	-Literacy -Post-literacy -Workers' education -Political education	All leaders to be fully involved in adult education activities and to ensure that the campaign succeeds.
Prime Minister's Directive on Workers' Education (1973).	To offer workers' education to all workers.	to eradicate illiteracy among all workers. To raise political consciousness of all the workers. To improve professional competency of all the workers. To offer vocational training to workers. To help the workers improve their general education and professional competency through in-service training and other general academic subjects.	-Literacy -Vocational training -Academic subjects -In-service training -Professional training -Political education	All work places to give workers' education to *all* workers. All workplaces to appoint workers education officers. All workplaces to set aside special budgets (10% of the total budget) for workers' education. All workplaces to conduct workers' education in normal work hours for a period of not less than 1 hour daily

(a) These documents provided the immediate origins of the national literacy campaign.

originated from above: The role of the peasants and workers in their formulation has been minimal.

Decision-making Machinery

Since mid-1969, the Ministry of Education was given the official responsibility of initiating, organizing, coordinating and administering adult education activities in the country through its network of educational institutions spread out throughout the country. Within the Ministry of Education, a directorate (later renamed department) of adult education was created to cater for planning, finance, research, evaluation, radio programs, curriculum development, book production and distribution, and all other policy matters pertaining to adult education.

In the regions, the regional education officers were required to develop and administer adult education programs in their regions, and to send monthly progress reports to the national headquarters. In their daily adult education activities, they were to be assisted by adult education coordinators who were appointed and attached to the regional education officers. The same administrative structure was created at the district level: A district adult education coordinator was appointed to assist the district education officer in all adult education work in the district. At ward level, a head teacher of one of the primary schools was made a coordinator of adult education activities in the area.

To render support to the adult education personnel, a national advisory committee on adult education and similar committees at regional, district, ward, village and even individual literacy class levels were established, comprised of party leaders, government officials, heads of parastatal organizations, leaders of voluntary organizations, and students' representatives. Figure 1 shows the hierarchy of adult education officers under the Ministry of Education and the corresponding adult education committees.

As Figure 1 shows, the administrative and organizational structure of adult education in Tanzania has a dual character: provision for central direction (top-down structure), as well as people's participation from the grassroots level to the national level. The Ministry of Education headquarters provided the central direction to the campaign, while the National Literacy Centre located in Mwanza was in the initial phase of the national literacy campaign responsible for rendering technical assistance in training, designing instructional materials, field organization and evaluation. The day-to-day activities, such as choosing sites for classrooms, recruitment of volunteer teachers, distribution of materials and

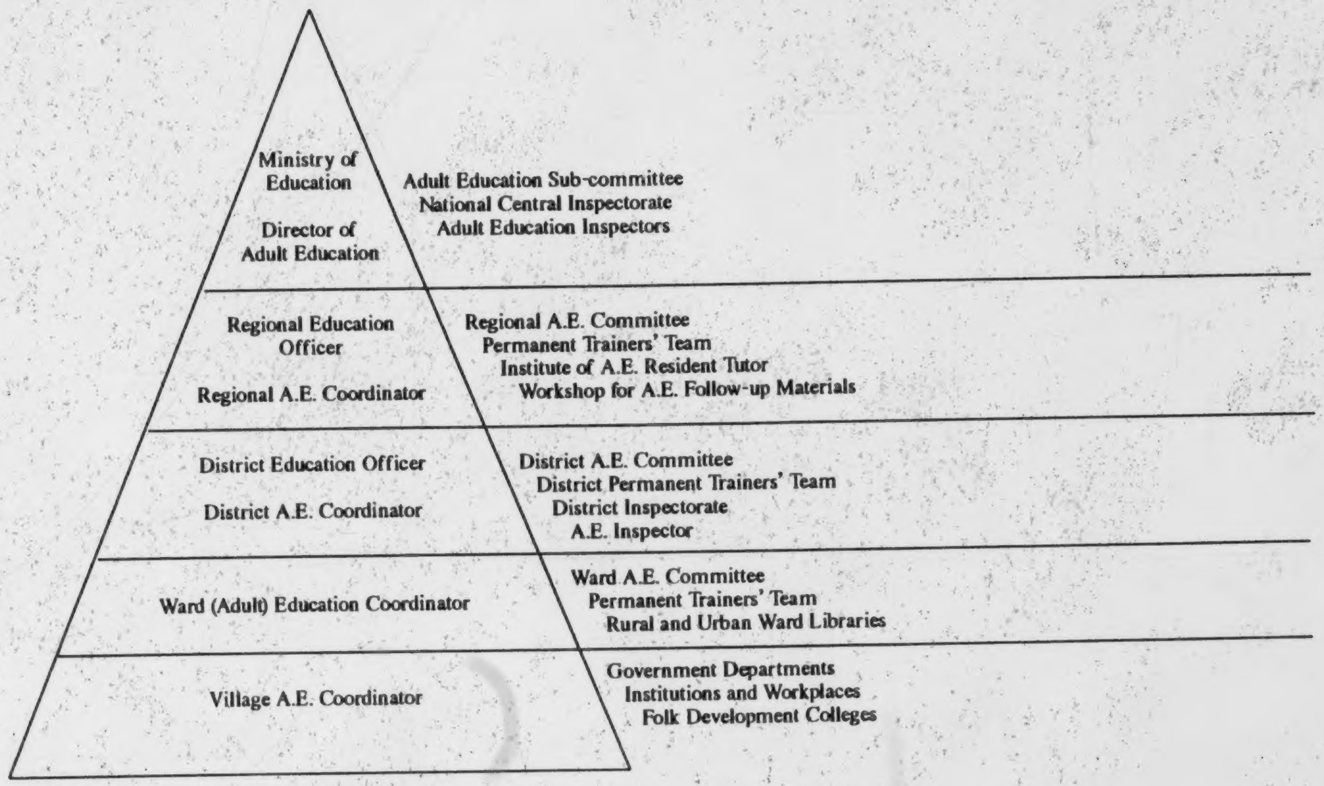
Ministry of Education
Director of Adult Education
Adult Education Sub-committee
National Central Inspectorate
Adult Education Inspectors
Regional Education Officer
Regional A.E. Coordinator
Regional A.E. Committee
Permanent Trainers' Team
Institute of A.E. Resident Tutor
Workshop for A.E. Follow-up Materials
District Education Officer
District A.E. Coordinator
District A.E. Committee
District Permanent Trainers' Team
District Inspectorate
A.E. Inspector
Ward (Adult) Education Coordinator
Ward A.E. Committee
Permanent Trainers' Team
Rural and Urban Ward Libraries
Village A.E. Coordinator
Government Departments
Institutions and Workplaces
Folk Development Colleges

Figure 1. The Administration and Organizational Structure of Adult Education in Tanzania[2]

Source: Adapted from Johnsson, A. and Nystrom, K. (1983). Adult Education in Tanzania. Education Division Documents No. 9, SIDA, 1983.

[2] The structure has basically remained intact to date, although the newly reintroduced local government is likely to assume some responsibility in primary education and adult education, such as budgeting and procurement of resources.

establishment of coordination and advisory committees, were handled by the regions, districts, divisions and wards.

However, creating such a structure is one thing, using it is a different matter. Discussing the problem of maintaining the right balance between centralization and decentralization, UNESCO (1982:7) cautioned:

> A wholesale commitment to either centralization or decentralization with complete exclusion of the other appears to be neither feasible nor desirable. What is needed is an appropriate mix that capitalizes upon the potential of each to contribute towards the achievement of intended goals.

Given the wide scope of the campaign and the strong desire to wipe out illiteracy in as short a period as possible, it was the centralized approach to planning, administration and teaching which was predominantly used in Tanzania. There is also some evidence to show that the adult education committees virtually at all levels were not regularly meeting and, where they were doing so, in most cases the proceedings were not properly recorded, ending in poor follow-up of the decisions made (Mlekwa, 1975).

Instructional Materials and Teaching

In all the different, but interrelated, phases of the literacy campaign, primers based on the economic preoccupations of the adult learners were used together with two other primers on better family care and political education. The primers utilized the eclectic method of language instruction[3] and were written through writers' workshops. There was hardly any input of adult learners in the selection of the content of the primers. All the teaching/learning resources--primers, teachers' guides, equipment and other materials for demonstration projects, pencils, exercise books and spectacles for those with poor eyesight--were provided free of charge. Taking into account other costs on administration, transport, personnel emoluments, printing, seminars and training, purchasing of radio sets, tape recorders, cinema vans, establishment of rural libraries, rural newspapers and work-oriented projects, etc., it appears that the national literacy campaign was quite an expensive undertaking. Table 6 shows annual expenditure on adult education and literacy training activities in the period 1969/70 to 1979/80.

Every year the government allocated no less than ten percent of the total budget of the Ministry of

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[3] The method comprises a combination of the analytic and synthetic methods, built upon a system of "breakdown and reconstitution" according to specific rules of a given language or the rate of progress of a learner. The key phrases or key words are usually derived from the theme of the session. Hamadache and Daniel Martin (1986:118) have elaborated on the basic procedure involved in using this method as follows: ". . . the sentence is broken down into words, the word into syllables, possibly the syllable into letters and, thereafter adopting an active approach involving participants' linguistic resources, comparisons are made and parallels drawn so as to identify like elements (syllables of the same time, words embodying the same syllable)." The procedure can be summarized as follows: "sentence word(s) syllable(s) letter(s) syllable(s) word(s) sentence" (p. 118).

Table 6
Annual Recurrent Expenditure on Adult Education and Literacy Training Activities, 1969/70 – 1979/80

Year	Enrolment	Government Contribution	Donors	Total	Per Capita Cost (rounded up)
1969/70	261,369	2,457,495	---	2,457,495	9
1970/71	908,351	9,966,500	---	9,966,500	11
1971/72	1,508,204	11,071,800	3,553,550	14,625,350	10
1972/73	2,989,910	18,732,700	27,403,798	46,136,498	15
1973/74	3,303,103	20,552,000	27,625,228	48,177,228	15
1974/75	5,184,982	22,660,000	27,732,528	50,392,528	10
1975/76	5,255,560	26,967,330	34,038,065	61,005,395	12
1976/77	5,819,612	45,584,970	17,100,000	62,684,970	11
1977/78	6,210,000	91,496,810	33,344,217	124,841,027	20
1978/79	1,666,516	95,026,800	40,390,000	135,416,800	81
1979/80	1,943,029	98,638,800	38,897,000	137,535,800	71

Sources:

1. Mpogolo, Z.J. (1980). *Functional Literacy in Tanzania.* Dar-es-Salaam: Swala Publications (p. 45; for enrolment figures from 1970–1977).
2. Unsicker, J.F. (1987). *Adult Education: Socialism and International Aid in Tanzania. The Political Economy of the Folk Development Colleges.* Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford University (p. 287; for enrolment figures from 1978 - 1980).
3. Mpogolo, Z.J. (1980). *Workshop on Planning and Administration of National Literacy Programmes,* 22nd Nov. - 2nd Dec. 1980, Mimeo (p. 18; for figures on expenditure).

Education for adult education and literacy training activities. As Table 6 reveals, total annual recurrent expenditure continued to rise in the period 1969/70 to 1979/80. In addition, the table also indicates that the foreign aid component in adult education and literacy training in Tanzania has been undoubtedly phenomenal. The sources of this foreign aid include UNESCO/UNDP, Sweden, China, USSR, West Germany, India, Japan, Canada, Denmark, Netherlands, Norway and German Democratic Republic (Mpogolo, 1980b:18).

Adult literacy teachers were recruited from all possible sources. Table 7 shows the number of teachers and their sources, who were recruited between 1970 and 1975, the period when the national literacy campaign was at its best. It can be seen from Table 7 that the majority of the literacy teachers were volunteers followed by the professionals. While these two categories of literacy teachers made important contributions to literacy training in Tanzania, both of them had important limitations when it came to handling adult learners: The professional teachers, most of whom were primary school teachers, did not have adequate training in adult psychology or adult education methods, while most of the volunteers were too young to handle adults, let alone the fact that their level of education was too low to manage effective teaching.

Table 7
Adult Literacy Teachers, 1970 – 1975

Table 7 has been removed due to the unavailability of copyright permission

Source: Mpogolo, Z.J. (1980). *Functional Literacy in Tanzania.* Dar-es-Salaam: Swala Publications, p. 45.

Nevertheless, there has been steady progress toward the eradication of illiteracy, as can be seen from Table 8. The table shows that by 1986, more than six million adult illiterates (25% of the entire population) had been enrolled in literacy classes. Of these, men were 2,866,864 in number while women were 3,445,424 in number. The table also shows that the illiteracy rate had been reduced from 69 percent (in 1969) to only 9.6 percent (in 1986). However, although illiteracy rate has been greatly decreasing both for men and women, it has always been higher for women than for men. This is partly due to the sexual division of labour; Women had so many responsibilities in the home that they were left with very little time for study. Literacy classes in most cases were conducted in the afternoon, when women were either coming from the fields (cultivation or harvesting) or when they had to prepare meals for husbands and children returning from work or visiting and from school, respectively.

Supporting programs were initiated to provide more learning opportunities to people throughout the country. These programs included rural libraries, rural newspapers, radio education programs, film education, correspondence studies, folk development college studies, and vocational training centre courses. In addition, mass education campaigns, utilizing prepared study guides, radio programs and group discussions, were initiated to address specific

Table 8

Toward Eradication of Illiteracy in Tanzania

	Enrolment			Teacher/Student Ratio		Illiteracy Rates (%)		
Year	Males	Females	Total	Number of Teachers	Ratio	Males	Females	Total
1969	206,214	335,348	541,562	--	--	55	81	69
1975	2,287,921	2,897,061	5,184,982	133,885	1:38	34	44	39
1977	2,544,590	3,275,022	5,819,612	7,578	1:769	22.3	30.4	27
1981	2,716,791	3,382,406	6,099,197	8,563	1:712	15	27	21
1983	2,744,371	3,412,406	6,156,777	7,895	1:779	10	20	15
1986	2,866,864	3,445,424	6,312,288	--	--	7.1	12	9.6

Sources:

- National Literacy Centre (Kisomo), Mwanza, 1987 (Chart).
- Bwatwa, Y.D.M. and S. Sumra (1987). *A Comparative Study of Adult Education in Tanzania, Mexico and Canada.* Paper presented to a joint workshop on the Canada, Mexico and Tanzania IDRC Project, University of Alberta (for figures on teachers, see p. 56).

social, economic, political and cultural problems. These mass education campaigns were popularly known as Kupanga ni Kuchagua (To Plan is to Choose, 1969); Uchaguzi ni Wako (The Choice is Yours, 1971); Mtu ni Afya (Man is Health, 1973); Chakula ni Uhai (Food is Life, 1975); and Misitu ni Mali (Forest is Wealth, 1980).

While all these programs made important contributions to the development of adult education and literacy training in Tanzania, virtually all suffered a number of setbacks. They were constrained, among other things, by inadequate supply and/or poor distribution of the required materials and equipment, coupled with a lack of competent personnel to manage them, particularly in the case of rural libraries. The mass education campaigns were also adversely affected by the problem of distribution of materials, as well as a lack of adequate feedback and follow-up of learning (Hall, 1974).

The Future of Literacy Training in Tanzania

In the early and mid-1970s, literacy training was treated as part and parcel of the Tanzanian state strategy for building socialism and self-reliance. Starting from the late 1970s, literacy training began to shift from the central position it occupied in government and party plans: Enrolment in literacy classes began to drop (from 5,184,982 in 1975 to only 1,666,516 in 1979) (Unsicker, 1987:287); the Institute of Adult Education started to abandon the participatory, mass-oriented approach which it had initiated in the early 1970s (Unsicker, 1987; Mutangira, 1988); and only 1,435,690 out of 3,122,983 (45.9%) registered for the post-literacy classes which were introduced by the Ministry of Education in 1976 to assist the neo-literates continue practising their literacy skills and improve on their education (Kirega, 1986).

The situation became worse with the precipitation of the economic crisis in the 1980s. External support for adult education and literacy training activities was no longer forthcoming as it used to be in the early 1970s. The general world recession made Western nations overly cautious about granting foreign aid to Third World countries, particularly if it was not directly tied to their own foreign economic or military interest. International criticism of Tanzania's domestic policies was intensified especially by the United States which argued for free enterprise and austerity measures advocated by the IMF as necessary prerequisites for balance of payment assistance. In 1983, the United States invoked a special amendment to its aid legislation which allowed for total withdrawal of all foreign aid to Tanzania (Unsicker, 1987a). Even Sweden, the largest source of external aid to Tanzanian education, was forced by the strong international criticism "to carefully justify each of its programs to an increasingly skeptical parliament and public" (Unsicker, 1987a:243). Thus, the 1980s were characterized by slow and careful negotiations between SIDA and the Ministry of Education, Tanzania, over proposals to restructure and expand the post-literacy classes of the mid-1970s (Unsicker, 1987a).

Given the worsening economic conditions, the Tanzanian state began to reconsider its distributive policies including education. In the 1984/85 financial year, for example, government funds for educational activities were drastically reduced from 14.1 percent of the national budget in 1975/76 to only 6.5 percent (Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania, Wizara ya Elimu, Taarifa ya Mwaka 1987/88:44). It was in the same year that the policies supported by the IMF and the World Bank, namely import liberalization, cutting off of agricultural subsidies, devaluation, redundancies in the public sector, and school fees, were introduced.[4]

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[4] By the 1989/90 financial year, school fees were as follows: Day secondary schools (providing food): Tanzanian shillings 1,600; day schools (providing food): 2,000 shillings; boarding secondary schools: 4,000 shillings; technical and professional institutes (excluding National Service, Institute of Finance Management, Institute of Development Management, and Universities of Dar-es-Salaam and Sokoine): 4,000 shillings; other public

Within adult education and literacy training, there was a shift in focus, from literacy classes to post-literacy classes geared at preventing neo-literates from relapsing into illiteracy and enabling them to continue learning. A more work-oriented, post-literacy curriculum comprised of three stages (elementary, intermediate and advanced) was introduced in 1987. Each student was required to enrol in one of four biases, namely agriculture, technical crafts, domestic science or workers' education (office work or industrial work). But the post-literacy programs have been adversely affected by the economic crisis problems, particularly those which are dependent on foreign capital such as mobile film vans.

Above all, there is the problem of legitimation. While the post-literacy programs were more complex to operate and less visible to generate more state legitimation, the literacy training program has increasingly become rigid and insensitive to changing priorities, as well as to the worsening economic conditions. Thus, Unsicker (1987:243) thoughtfully pointed out:

> . . . the future of adult education is unclear. The more difficult and less visible efforts to reach the final fifteen (currently 9.6%) percent of the population that remains illiterate, and to provide support and continued education to the new literates, are not likely to provide the Tanzanian state with new international

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schools and colleges: 4,000 shillings.

> legitimacy. Those efforts appear to have now become a lower priority for national leaders and bureaucrats, as they take on the more pressing issues of the economic crisis.

This chapter has discussed educational policies and practices evolved by the Tanzanian state in its critical phases of development. Adult education and literacy training policies and practices have been examined within the total education system which itself has been linked to the overall development strategy pursued by the Tanzanian state. Chapter VI delineates the immediate socio-economic context of the study.

CHAPTER VI

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF MLALI AND MELELA VILLAGES

Introduction

> The personal and physical aspects of development cannot be separated. It is in the process of deciding for himself what is development, and deciding in what direction it should take his society, and in implementing those decisions, that Man develops himself. For Man does not develop himself in a vacuum, in isolation from his society and his environment; and he certainly cannot be developed by others. Man's consciousness is developed in the process of thinking, and deciding and of acting. (Nyerere, 1976, in Hinzen and Hundsdorfer, 1979:49)

This chapter describes and analyses the two villages under study, namely Mlali and Melela. The first section presents the socio-economic characteristics of Morogoro Region where the two villages are located. The description is essential, bearing in mind the fact that the villages are not independent political and economic entities, although they have their own governments. For there are complex vertical and horizontal relationships between villages and wards, divisions, districts, regions and central government.

The second section constitutes a descriptive analysis of the villages by focusing on the following dimensions: location and population, evolution of the villages in the context of the evolution of the Tanzanian state, production and material base of the villages, and some problems and constraints on the development of the villages. The last section briefly draws some implications for adult education and literacy training in the area.

Morogoro Region: Social and Economic Characteristics

Morogoro Region lies in the east-central part of Tanzania. With an area of 73,039 square kilometres (about 8.2% of Tanzania Mainland), the region is third in size, after Arusha and Mbeya Regions. The region has five districts of varying size and development potential, namely Morogoro Urban, Morogoro Rural, Kilosa, Kilombero and Ulanga. Demographic characteristics for each district and for the whole region are shown in Table 9.

As Table 9 shows, the total population for the region is 1,222,737 (about 5.3% of the nation), of which 605,772 are men and 616,965 are women. Annual population growth rate for the period 1978-88 was 2.9, but the 1988 population census has lowered it to 2.6 percent. The density of population varies from 4.8 in Ulanga District to 1,123 persons per square kilometre in Morogoro Urban District. The variation is mainly due to ecological factors: The most densely populated areas, apart from the town, are the Uluguru Mountains where nearly 30 percent of

Table 9
Demographic Characteristics of Morogoro Region

District	Area (km^2)	Population (1988)			Population Density	Annual Population Growth Rate	Sex Ratio	Urbanization Rate	Labour Force (percentage)
		Men	Women	Total					
Morogoro Urban	66	59,144	58,616	117,760	1,123	7.2	101.71	100.00	57.03
Morogoro Rural	19,250	212,042	219,753	431,795	21.7	1.8	97.71	1.73	51.06
Kilosa	14,245	173,581	173,652	347,233	19.3	3.2	103.93	14.28	52.27
Kilombero	14,918	93,806	93,256	187,062	9.8	5.6	103.76	19.17	54.27
Ulanga	24,560	67,199	71,688	138,887	4.8	1.1	91.66	3.41	48.90
Region	73,039	605,772	616,965	1,222,737	13.0	2.9	100.00	14.41	50.20

Source: Regional Commissioner's Office (Planning Section), 1987; 1989.

Basis year for population density, annual population growth rate, sex ratio, urbanization rate and labour force is 1978.

the population live on about eight percent of the whole area (Lundquist, 1975). Average household size is 5.3 persons for the entire region (United Republic of Tanzania, 1988 Population Census).

Morogoro Region is largely rural, with an urbanization rate of only 14.41 percent. Districts differ in terms of urbanization rate: Morogoro Urban District has the highest rate (100%), followed by Kilombero (19.17%), Kilosa (14.28%), Ulanga (3.41%) and Morogoro Rural (1.73%). Labour force, however, comprises only about half of the population (50.20%), with Morogoro Urban District having the largest labour force (57.03%).[1] While birth rate in 1987 was 44.7 per thousand, death rate and infant mortality rate were 19.3 and 14.0 years per thousand, respectively (Regional Commissioner's Office, 1987:6).

Social infrastructure is relatively well developed, supported by a well spread out educational institutions network. The region has 584 primary schools (582 public and 2 private); 20 secondary schools (10 public and 10 private); three teacher training colleges (all public) and four folk development colleges. The region also accommodates Tanzania's only Institute of Development Management (IDM) and the Sokoine University of Agriculture.

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[1] The figures refer to people (men and women) who are able to work. The rest (children, old people, disabled) are those who are either unable to work or are not required to do so, particularly on communal projects.

Water supply continues to be limited as manifested by the percentage of people who have access to clean water. Apart from Morogoro Urban District, where 83 percent access clean water, only about half of the population in each of the remaining districts has access to clean water: Fifty-six percent in Kilombero, 52 percent in Kilosa, 42 percent in Morogoro Rural, and 41 percent in Ulanga District (Regional Commissioner's Office, 1987:6).

Economic Activities

Agriculture is the main economic activity of Morogoro Region, as is the case for the whole country. Although various modes of agricultural production are found in the region, such as irrigation, mechanization, oxenization and rainfed small-holder peasant production, it is the latter (individual peasant production) which remains the dominant mode of agricultural production in the region (United Republic of Tanzania, 1983). Other economic activities in which the region engages include livestock development, natural resources development (forestry, fisheries, beekeeping and wildlife), small-scale industries, transportation and marketing. Given the relative importance of the agricultural sector and the livestock sector in the region, focus will be geared only to these sectors, especially because they are also the major preoccupations of the research population sample.

Table 10 shows the main crops which are grown in the region and in each district.

As Table 10 shows, the major crops which are grown in the region include maize, sorghum, cassava and beans (food crops) as well as cotton, coffee, sugar cane, sisal and oilseeds (sunflower, sesame, soya beans and castor seeds) (cash crops). Other crops, which the Regional Five Year Development Plan (1984/85-1988/89) recommended for intensive and extensive growing are cocoa, cardamon, rubber, grapes and wheat.

As a whole, the region has considerable agricultural potential; it has plenty of arable land (5,887,000 hectares), a good amount of rainfall (1,200 mm. per annum) and a diversity of climate which allows for the growing of tropical, sub-tropical and temperate crops. However, this agricultural potential is not exploited to the maximum. For example, only 8.61 percent of the total arable land was cultivated in the 1987/88 financial year, despite the fact that the region had as many as 809 tractors (see Table 10).

Furthermore, the diversity of crops grown in the region is in itself a problem rather than a blessing. As the Prime Minister's Office (1984:7) explained:

> . . . peasants tend to be less consistent and permanent in their farming systems and practices. Peasants easily switch from one crop or set of crops to another depending upon the available incentives. This has the effect of fluctuating production of the key crops in the Region.

Table 10
Major Crops Grown in Morogoro Region, 1987/88

District	Arable Land (hectares)	Land Under Cultivation		Major Crops Grown		Average Annual Rainfall (mm)	Tractors	Storage (Permanent Buildings)	
		Hectares	Percentage Cultivated	Food Crops	Cash Crops			Village	MRCU
Morogoro Urban	--	2,932	--	--	--	1,000	53	--	--
Morogoro Rural	1,744,000	301,180	17.2	*	**	900	249	75	6
Kilosa	1,340,000	90,973	6.79	*	Cotton Sugar Cane Oilseeds	1,106	320	59	22
Kilombero	1,224,000	53,445	4.36	Maize Paddy Cassava	Cotton Sugar Cane Soya Beans	1,500	132	20	3
Ulanga	1,579,000	58,666	3.71	Maize Paddy	Cotton Sesame	1,500	55	64	11
Region	5,887,000	507,196	8.61	*	**	1,200	809	218	42

Source: Regional Commissioner's Office, Morogoro (Planning Section), 1989.

[a] Morogoro Regional Cooperative Union.

* Maize, Paddy, Sorghum, Cassava, Beans

** Cotton, Coffee, Sugar Cane, Oilseeds, Sisal

> Further, such farming practices make planning difficult. And what is more important, farmers do not create an impact on overall production endeavours of a particular crop.

Above all, agricultural development in the region, as well as the development of other sectors of the economy, is constrained by declining and rapid deterioration of communication networks in the region: Morogoro Region has a road network of 4,823 km. of which all-weather road comprises only 823 km. The remaining 4,000 km. are impassable during the rainy season (Office of the Regional Commissioner, 1984:94). Most of the bridges (particularly in Ulanga and Kilombero Districts) are not permanent and are often washed away by floods, which is another serious problem for Morogoro Region. The problem of transportation in the region--and its adverse effects on the overall economic development of the region--was neatly articulated by the Office of the Regional Commissioner (1984:9) as follows:

> With a critical eye on the current state of National and Regional Economy, the future development of regional economic infrastructure to say the least is bleak. For with the exception of foreign donor Rehabilitation projects, namely the Kilombero Ulanga Road Project, KURP, financed by the Government of Switzerland and Irish funded road projects in Kilosa, there is widespread deterioration of the majority of the region's main trunk, regional and the feeder roads adversely affecting the regional economy and the ability of the government to deliver vital services.

As will be pointed out in the next section, Mlali village faces a serious problem of transportation.

particularly during the rainy season and, consequently, its social and economic development is curtailed. The next sections focus on the two villages.

Mlali Village

Mlali Village is located in Mlali Division and Mlali Ward, about 20 kilometres from Morogoro town. The village is administratively well placed: It accommodates not only the head offices of the ward but also those of the division. Geographically, however, the village is not easily accessible, particularly during the rain season. The village was registered as a village and recognized as an Ujamaa village in 1975.[2] With a total number of 532 households, Mlali Village's population was as indicated in Table 11.

The village population comprised of people who had been traditionally living in the village since the German era and those who were moved by the state and resettled in the village in the wake of implementing the early 1970s villagization program. One old man said that he had lived in the village since 1913 and narrated fascinating stories about German and British soldiers who, in 1916, passed

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[2] Registration number MG K1J 387. See Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania, GAZETI, Vol. 1 . L VII, No. 31, Julai, 1976.

Table 11
Population of Mlali Village

	Male	Female	Total
Able to Work	319	421	740
Unable to Work (adults)	97	120	217
Children[a]	427	626	1053
TOTAL	843	1167	2010

Sources: Village Records, July, 1989

[a] The number of female children by far exceeds the number of male children. The figures may not represent the actual gender distribution in the age cohort, probably owing to problems of keeping records of births and deaths in a peasant society

through the village on their way to Mgeta and Kisaki. However, no war had ever been fought in the village.

Following the villagization program, people in the neighbouring areas of Mbalala, Kidai, Ng'alala, Kibandahodi, Manza, Iyenge, Makome, Shaurini, etc., were moved and resettled in the village either through persuasion or through coercion. The latter was used particularly against those people who resisted the government move as well as against those who initially moved from but later on went back to their former places of residence. The rationale provided by the state apparatuses for introducing such far-reaching measures was a two-fold one: to enable the peasants to access social and economic services, such as medical facilities, education, water supply and agricultural inputs, as well as to build a foundation for socialist transformation in the rural areas. Peasants, however, complained about the provision of many of these facilities, particularly agricultural inputs (fertilizers, insecticides, etc.) which either were not available or were too expensive for the poor peasants to afford.

Production Activities and Material Base of the Village

In Mlali Village, agriculture was the main source of income for the peasants, as well as their general means of livelihood. The most popular food crop, which was also suited to the relatively dry climate of the village, was sorghum. Maize and paddy were grown in areas where there was a greater amount of water but in far less quantities, as well as tomatoes and other vegetables, and some sugar cane. Beans were grown on the slopes of the Uluguru Mountains, neighbouring the village.

Cash crops (sunflower, tobacco and cotton) were introduced in the village following a government directive requiring each village to select one cash crop for intensive and extensive farming. But peasants were more interested in growing food crops which could not only be eaten but also sold. One peasant in Mlali Village, for example, said:

> You cannot eat cotton. You have to sell it and then buy food with that money. But sorghum can be eaten and sold. It has always been our staple food and these days it is becoming a cash crop as well.

Introduction and enforcement of cash crop farming in the villages reflected the extent of state intervention in peasant production. Food crops were essential but their marketing could not be easily monitored as in the case of cash crops which had to be sold to state apparatuses.

Hence cash crops were generally regarded by the peasants as "government crops" and were not popular. Consequently, sunflower was grown for one year and was abandoned. And, although cotton was still being grown in the village, the peasants were increasingly becoming critical regarding availability of inputs, notably fertilizers and insecticides, as well as their ever-rising prices. Tobacco, on the other hand, was considered to be too cumbersome to grow, especially bearing in mind the low level of development of productive forces in the village.[3]

Animal husbandry was not well developed in the village. There was mainly small-holder subsistence production of goats, sheep, chicken and ducks. Only two villagers had a relatively high number of cows and goats: One had as many as 200 cows and was among the major suppliers of beef in Morogoro. Some people in the village were complaining regarding the whole idea of allocating a vast area of land to a single individual in a village which was supposed to be laying down the foundation of socialist construction.

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[3] Mapolu (1986) has shown that due to the numerous technicalities involved in the proper husbandry of tobacco, officials of government and of companies with interest in the tobacco industry have almost in all cases tended to decide everything for the peasant, from growing techniques to marketing procedures, to the extent that the role of the peasant is reduced to that of a worker. The end result is increased state control over the peasant.

The village had seven shops which were all privately owned. A small shop belonging to the village government had run out of business since 1986. A number of reasons was given for the collapse of the shop, including inability to compete for essential commodities, partly due to its little capital assets and also due to deliberate acts of sabotage perpetrated by some private shop owners. There were also reports about general incompetence and mismanagement of the village government shop keepers and failure on the part of the village government to take appropriate measures.

There were also two tea-room places which were selling food and a few drinks, especially soft drinks and milk. These too were privately owned. Women's (UWT) and parents' (TAPA)[4] mass organizations had earlier been providing such services but they also could not stay long in business. Only one "pombe" shop (a place for selling locally brewed beer) had remained under the control of the women's organization. At the same time, however, there were four "pombe" shops which were privately owned and which seemed to be doing much better compared to the one owned by the women's organization.

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[4] UWT: Umoja wa Wanawake Tanzania. This is a women's organization operating under the auspices of the Party (CCM: Chama cha Mapinduzi); TAPA is a parents' organization also functioning under the Party's supervision.

Agricultural production on the village communal farm had not been impressive either, both in terms of acreage cultivated and in income generated from it. Average land area cultivated was only about 34 acres out of 100 and there were seasons, such as the 1988/89 season, when it was not cultivated at all. The village party branch officials said that the best season was 1982/83, when 33,000 shillings were obtained from cotton sales. But if this amount were to be divided equally among the able-bodied adults in the village (740), each one would receive only 44 shillings, which would certainly not be worth the effort.

Other sources of income for the village government were a tractor and a grinding machine. After the village government shop collapsed in 1986, part of the remaining capital was used to buy a tractor which was to be hired by the villagers for 1,000 shillings per acre. In 1988/89, for example, the village government used the tractor to cultivate one acre (cotton) on the village communal farm, for each villager who was prepared to pay back 1,000 shillings to the village government and to make a contribution of 400 shillings to the local cooperative society. According to the Ward Secretary and other village government leaders, the tractor owned by the village government was cheap, bearing in mind that the privately owned tractors in the village (three altogether) were being hired for 1,200 shillings per acre. Interviews with peasants revealed that most could not afford to hire the tractor taking into account other agricultural inputs, like fertilizers and insecticides, which they also had to buy.

A grinding machine, which was bought in 1975 to provide agricultural services to the villagers and to generate some income for the village government, had been out of order since 1988. The main reason given by village government officials for not repairing the machine immediately was lack of spare parts. It was interesting, however, to note that privately owned grinding machines in the village (four in total) were operating without any major problems.

Development projects, which were at various stages of implementation, included planting trees as part of the national afforestation campaign; building two classrooms with burnt bricks; and building two houses for a maternity aid and for a security guard. The villagers had also dug a six-kilometre water trench to ensure constant supply of clean water in the village. Peasants' response in implementing these projects, particularly the latter, was encouraging. When it came to agricultural work, however, their response was not always forthcoming. This could be explained in part by the fact that the peasants knew very well that they would not get fair prices for their crops. The village government passed by-laws to ensure peasants' participation in the village's development projects. Elaborating on measures taken to enforce peasants' participation in various "development" activities, one village government leader said:

> The people are involved, through their ten-cell leaders, in deciding how often the work should be done. Three days before going to work, the entire village is made alert by a drum beat. On other occasions, seminars are organized to educate the people on various issues of importance to the village. Unfortunately, some people are not willing to work even after educating them. By-laws, ranging from paying a cash fine not exceeding 3,000 shillings to imprisonment of about six months or both penalties, are passed to make them work.

Social Services and Educational Activities

The village was confronting a number of health problems, especially the persistence of Malaria, diarrhoea, worms and bilharzia. All the four types of diseases were among the ten most serious diseases in Morogoro Region (Regional Commissioner's Office, Morogoro, 1989:51). Children were the greater victims of all the diseases.

Village health workers expressed concern about the water which the villagers were drinking: It was not clean and most villagers were not boiling it. And, although the village had a relatively good dispensary, its services were not adequate since it was offering medical services to all the villages in the ward, namely Kipera, Manza, Homboza, Peko-Misegese and Mlali itself. The total population for the whole ward was 12,419 (Ward Secretary Office records, Mlali, 1989). There was also a tendency among the villagers to sell nutritious food items, such as eggs, in order to obtain some cash with which to buy other essential commodities rather than to eat them to improve their health conditions. On the other hand, a lot of food was consumed during traditional festivals instead of reserving it for times of poor harvest. And one could also see that although the villagers were trying their best to build good houses, they were not generally adhering to proper health standards such as building and using latrines as well as cutting and using wide enough windows to allow for more ventilation.

Education was considered by village leaders to be essential in resolving health problems, and others, in the village. Every morning health instruction was being given to all those who came to the dispensary for medical treatment. While occasionally some visits were made by the health workers to the villagers' homes to see the extent to which they were following health instructions provided, the dominant mode of health education remained the former. The problem with such an approach was that it left out those who either were not sick or were sick but they were not coming to the dispensary for treatment. In that case, health education was not fully playing its preventive role.

Other institutions providing education in the village included a mosque, a Catholic mission, a primary school and a rural library, both for the ward and for the adult education centre. It was surprising to find out that although the most popular crop grown in the village was sorghum, there was no single book with a theme related to sorghum in the village. The primary school had eight streams with 311 pupils. The number of pupils per class ranged from 33 to 54. Table 12 shows the adult literacy status of the village after the 1983 national literacy test.

The total number of literacy classes in the village was nine (head teachers' office records, 1989). According to Table 12, adult learners who sat for the 1983 national literacy and post-literacy tests were 275 and 31 respectively. In both cases women participants were more than men. Table 13, however, shows that only 181 adult learners (63 men and 118 women) did the 1986 national literacy test. Thus, 94 adult learners did not appear for the test. It is interesting to note from Table 13 that almost at every level of literacy the number of women who graduated at that level of literacy exceeded the number of men. This contradicts available evidence in Third World societies and in Tanzania in particular, where women tend to be at a disadvantage when it comes to performance in literacy work (Mlekwa, forthcoming; Sumra and Bwatwa,

Table 12

Literacy Test Results for Mlali Village, 1983

	Literacy Levels Reached																				
	Below I			I			II			III & IV			V			VI			Total		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Literacy	25	84	109	14	34	48	23	19	42	38	38	76	--	--	--	--	--	--	100	175	275
Post-Literacy	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	9	10	19	7	5	12	16	15	31

Source: Mlali Primary School Headteachers' Office Records, July 1989

Table 13

Literacy Test Results for Mlali Village, 1986

	Literacy Levels Reached																							
	I			II			III			IV			V			VI			VII			Total		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Literacy	26	46	72	14	25	39	14	29	43	9	18	27	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	63	118	181
Post–Literacy	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	12	13	25	9	21	30	7	5	12	28	39	67

Source: Mlali Primary School Headteachers' Office Records, July 1989.

1988). Sumra and Bwatwa (1988:264), for example, noted with reference to the Tanzanian literacy campaign:

> The proportion of women sitting for the Test and attending literacy classes is higher than for men, and this proportion is increasing. The data indicate, however, that the proportion of men graduating from the literacy classes and reaching Levels III and IV is always higher than for women. [emphasis added]

These contradictory findings may reflect a more serious problem involved in ascertaining the reliability of adult education and literacy training, particularly in developing societies where literacy "statistics may involve a certain amount of political counting" (Fordham, 1988:17).

Melela Village

Melela Village lies about 35 kilometres on the all-weather Morogoro-Iringa highway. Administratively, the village is within Mlali Division and Melela Ward whose other villages are Mangae and Magali. In 1975, the village was registered and recognized as an Ujamaa village.[5] The number of households by far exceeded those stipulated in the 1975 Villages and Ujamaa Villages Act. The latter allowed for 250 to 600 households. Melela Village had a total number of 765 households (Melela Party Branch Office records, May, 1989). Table 14 shows the village's population.

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[5] Registration number MG K1J 197. See Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania, GAZETI, Vol. I. L VIII, No. 31, Julai, 1976.

It is noticeable from Table 14 that out of the total population (4,483), only 1,600 adult men (680) and women (920) were capable of working (village records, June, 1989). This was only about 35.6 percent of the total population. The rest (64.4%) were either too old or too young to work. The village population also comprised of people who had traditionally lived in the village for a long time, and those who were moved from other places (Kololo, Mkula, Nyangoma, Kwedaimoni, etc.) and resettled in the village by government in the wake of implementing the villagization program of the early 1970s.

In terms of ethnic composition, the village population was made up mainly of the Luguru, Masai, Gogo, Kinga, Hehe and Makonde. The Luguru were the largest ethnic group, followed by the Masai. However, a better way of categorizing the population is in terms of either agriculturalists or pastoralists (Kweka, 1987). Indeed,it was in that context that conflicts and tensions manifested themselves within the population: The agriculturalists complained about their crops being destroyed by the animal herds of the pastoralists, particularly in the relatively drier months of July and August. The problem was made worse by the fact that the pastoralists had a warrior tradition giving them an advantage during moments of

Table 14
Population of Melela Village

	Male	Female	Total
Able to Work	680	920	1600
Unable to Work (adults)	1225	662	1887
Children	305	691[a]	996
TOTAL	2210	2273	4483

Sources

(1) Village Records, June, 1989

(2) Regional Commissioner's Office, Morogoro (Planning Section), May, 1989

[a] See the general observation made on the number of female children by far exceeding that of male children under Table 11

physical confrontation with the agriculturalists. The pastoralists, on the other hand, argued that they had equal rights to land and that the agriculturalists were harassing them and their animals. The village government was caught up between the two opposing sides trying to mediate them, but in the process creating more contradictions, each side suspecting that the village government was favouring the opponent.

Production and Material Base of the Village

Agriculture constituted the main economic activity for almost three quarters of the villagers. Another quarter was made up of the pastoralists who were mainly keeping cows and goats. But given the mobile character of the pastoralists, it was not easy to determine both the number of animals kept and the contribution of the livestock to the village's economic development.

The main crops grown in the village included sorghum, maize, sweet potatoes, beans and vegetables, as well as cotton, sunflower and sesame (cash crops). Each villager was required to have at least three acres, divided as follows: two acres for food crops and one acre for cash crops. Bearing in mind the fact that for most of the villagers the main means of labour was the hoe, the three acres were not at all too few. Only the big farmers in the village, and also those from other areas who had their farms in the village, could hire a tractor.[6]

Although there were some impressive (sorghum) farms, agricultural production in the village as a whole was low, although relatively higher than that in Mlali Village.. This was particularly the case with cash crops. For example, in 1988, the target for the whole village was to produce 400 tons of cotton and 64 tons of sunflower. The output was only 155 tons (38.7%) and 28 tons (43.7%) respectively.

Many factors accounted for the low agricultural production in the village. Most important of all was peasants' inadequate use of fertilizers and insecticides, especially because they were too expensive for them.[7] There was some hope that with the introduction of the popularly known "Marejea" fertilizer (crotalaria ochroleuca), there would be more use of the same in the village because it was relatively cheap.

Sources of income for the village government included a village communal farm, a village shop, a tractor and a grinding machine. But all these projects had serious problems as can be gathered from the following data:

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[6] The village government had a tractor which was out of order and there did not seem to be any arrangements to repair it. Meanwhile, rich farmers were hiring tractors from town.

[7] One bag of urea was being sold for 700 shillings by the regional farmers' market.

First, only five acres out of 100 (5.0%) of the communal farm were cultivated in 1989. Second, the village government shop had been out of business since 1985, after many items were stolen from the shop. And, third, the grinding machine operated only for about three years and after that the villagers had to use a privately owned grinding machine in the village.

Social Services and Educational Activities

The village had a dispensary providing various health services including health education. According to the village health workers, four types of disease were adversely affecting the health conditions of many villagers, namely bilharzia, diarrhoea, malaria and various skin diseases. Children below the age of five years were especially prone to the first two diseases. All four types of diseases were among the ten most serious diseases in Morogoro Region (Regional Commissioner's Office, Morogoro, 1989:51).

Many factors accounted for the persistence of the diseases in the village, and in Morogoro as a whole. These included drinking water which was not safe,[8] malnutrition, particularly for children, living in an environment which was not clean, and not using modern health practices. Solutions to problems of health were being sought mainly through education provided by the health extension workers and other leaders in the village. Those who did not cooperate, for example, in building latrines, were made to pay a cash fine ranging from 100 shillings to 300 shillings or payment in kind, including food and livestock.

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[8] At the time of the research, villagers were building a water trench of about 12 kilometres, so that they could distribute water to various parts of the village from a big water reservoir tank built in the village. The project was initiated and funded by the government. The villagers considered the project to be an important one since it

Regarding formal education, the village had a primary school which was established in 1951 as a regular primary school and which, later in 1983, was transformed into a community school.[9] The school also served as an adult education centre in the village. With 13 streams, the school had a student population of 571 and a teaching staff of 12 teachers. Both pupil enrolment and attendance was good, as high as 90 percent, and drop-out rate was minimal.[10] However, there was a major problem regarding the education of the pastoralists who, as has already been

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addressed a concrete problem in the village: lack of clean water to drink. Their response was forthcoming and they did all the work through self-help while the government supplied them with materials and expertise.

[9] Wednesday was set aside as a day for participating in community activities. These included construction of school and dispensary buildings, agricultural work in the village farm, road clearing, as well as organizing and participating in Parents Day celebrations at the school at the end of each year.

[10] For example, only nine pupils left school in the period 1983-89 (Headteachers' records, May, 1989).

noted, constituted about one-quarter of the entire village population. Their school enrolment was conspicuously poor. For instance, in 1989, there were only 15 boys and one girl in school.[11]

Other institutions providing education in the village included a Catholic mission, Lutheran church, New Apolistic church, a mosque and two rural libraries (one for the Ward and one for the Village). Occasionally, educational films were also shown in the village. In 1989, for example, two films were shown, one on women and their environment and the other on planting and caring for trees: The village had a relatively well organized afforestation campaign.

Village leaders emphasized the role of adult education and literacy training in development. In this regard, extension workers (agricultural and health) appeared to be exemplary: Special "field days" were organized whereby peasants were given instruction on modern agricultural practices such as the use of fertilizers and insecticides. In 1989, for example, there was a seminar on agro-forest, intended to show the peasants the importance of trees as a source of energy as well as a way of preserving soil. Earlier in 1988, three such seminars had been conducted. Furthermore, the agricultural extension workers also made visits to the peasants while cultivating their farms to offer them more guidance. As a whole, peasants' response was positive and this contributed to the relative success of the afforestation campaign in the village as well as the production particularly of food crops (sorghum). Their response to literacy training, on the other hand, was not equally positive, as is shown in Chapter VII. Tables 15 and 16 show the literacy status of the village.

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[11] It was not possible to obtain figures for the total school going age group due to constant migrations.

As can be seen from Table 15, in 1983, a total number of 556 (173 men and 383 women) achieved Levels I to III of literacy, while 58 (43 men and 15 women) successfully completed Level IV (post-literacy). An interview with the Melela adult education coordinator revealed that by 1986, 109 adult learners (49 men and 60 women had dropped out of literacy classes.

Table 16 shows the levels of literacy reached in 1986, as well as those who were pursuing post-literacy instruction. Two hundred and eighty seven were still below Level I of literacy. In other words, they were still illiterate.[12]

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[12] In the Tanzanian context, a person considered to be at Level I of literacy is anyone who has enrolled and has attended two-thirds of the literacy sessions in any one year of literacy activities (Mpogolo, 1990:11)(see Appendix D).

Table 15

Literacy Test Results for Melela Village, 1983

	Classes	Teachers	I – III			IV			TOTAL		
			M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Literacy	31	31	173	383	556	--	--	--	173	383	556
Post–literacy	10	21	--	--	--	43	15	58	43	15	58

Source: Melela Adult Education Centre Records. Interview with the Melela Adult Education Centre Coordinator, 26/5/1989.

Table 16

Literacy Test Results for Melela Village, 1986

	Literacy Levels Reached																				
	Below I			I			II			III			IV			V & VI			Total		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Literacy	79	208	287	28	59	87	23	33	56	18	29	47	19	9	28	--	--	--	167	338	505
Post-literacy	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	23	12	35	23	12	35

Source: Melela Ward Education Office Records, 1989

General Problems and Constraints on the Development of the Two Villages

Political Status of the Villages

Both villages were established in accordance with the 1975 Villages and Ujamaa Villages Act. Initially, the two villages were started under the rubric of "Ujamaa village," while in fact they were not. This problem of ascertaining the right political status of the villages, faced by virtually all villages in Tanzania, partly arose due to the fact that there were no specified criteria for categorizing the villages as Ujamaa villages. While the conditions for registering villages were specified in the Villages and Ujamaa Villages Act of 1975,[13] those for recognizing villages as Ujamaa villages were not clearly articulated, leading to a situation whereby many villages were categorized as Ujamaa villages without qualifying for the title. The situation was made more complex by the pattern of distribution of social and economic services offered by the State: Ujamaa villages tended to be favoured and declaring a village an Ujamaa village turned out to be a means of securing greater assistance from the government.

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[13] The conditions for registering villages as corporate bodies included the following: (a) a village must have a minimum of 250 and a maximum of 600 number of households; (b) it must have demarcated and recorded boundaries; (c) it must have a duly elected village council and at least five functional committees to cater for planning and finance, production, defence and security, building and transportation, as well as education and social welfare; (d) the village government has to draw and ensure implementation of annual work plans and targets for agricultural production and infrastructural projects such as road construction, digging water trenches, building permanent storage facilities, etc.; (e) the village must also act as a multi-purpose cooperative society deriving income as a crop buying agent for parastatal corporations as well as from running a village shop and other viable economic projects; (f) a village must have a farm of at least one hundred hectares.

Thus, Dumont and Marie-France Mottin (1983:113) noted:

> . . . the criteria for deciding whether or not a village was a true Ujamaa village, and therefore deserved to be given priority in these many different areas, were never clearly set out. There had to be a "certain proportion" of communal crops, but no figure was ever laid down. Roadside placards proudly pointed down side-tracks leading to self-styled Ujamaa villages, so called because that was what the authorities wanted, and it was therefore the best way of getting hold of government handouts. Once they had been officially recognized as Ujamaa villages, they would be given gifts or loans (few of which would ever be repaid) in the form of seeds, fertilizers, insecticides--even tractors.

One party branch leader of Mlali expressed similar concerns about the categorization of the village as an Ujamaa village. He argued that:

> Although the village is said to be an Ujamaa village, it is by all means not one. The level of development, particularly education, is extremely low. So is the level of co-operation. Without force nothing gets moving in this village.

There were other problems adversely affecting the development of the two villages which were emanating from the overall country's policies such as those pertaining to land tenure, provision of credit facilities and motivation of development extension workers.

Land Tenure System

In Tanzania, all land is publicly owned and vested in the state, although the maintenance and improvement of the quality of the land remains the responsibility of the land user (United Republic of Tanzania, 1983).

There are four main forms of land tenure in the country, namely customary land tenure, communal land tenure, leasehold, and rights of occupancy. Agricultural land is usually held under either the customary or communal system. But most of it is not properly surveyed or mapped and only a few users have any documents indicating their legal rights, legal duties or even their boundaries. The problem was further compounded by the villagization program of the early 1970s which "greatly disturbed traditional land holding arrangements" (United Republic of Tanzania, 1983:10) and yet few villages have been internally surveyed and mapped. In the period 1981/82 to 1986/87, for example, out of a total number of 457 villages in Morogoro Region, only 231 villages (50.5%) were surveyed and only 18 villages (3.39%) were mapped (Regional Commissioner's Office, 1989:56). Under such circumstances, where the majority of the villages, village governments, individual farmers and companies or associations engaging in farming activities are not assured of land ownership on a long-term basis, there cannot be substantial investments in land development. As a result, there was considerable underutilization of land resources in both villages, where average acreage cultivated per family was only three acres, both for food crops and cash crops. Since modern methods of agriculture were not fully utilized, the produce from the three acres would not be enough to feed the families which themselves were growing quickly.

Provision of Rural Credit Facilities

Above all, the small-holder peasants who, in the context of Tanzania, are the main agricultural producers, are not the immediate beneficiaries of rural credit facilities offered by state financial apparatuses such as the Tanzania Investment Bank (TIB), the National Bank of Commerce (NBC), and the Cooperative Rural Development Bank (CRDB). Due to communal tenure, peasants do not have title to their land; consequently, they cannot offer material assets to the banks and, therefore, they do not qualify for loans.

As a whole, bank capital tends to favour those economic units which are well established and cost effective. In that case, it is the big farmers who are worth crediting (Mittelman, 1981). Consistent with that kind of logic, the largest share of rural credit is channeled into cash crop farming rather than food crop production. The Tanzania Rural Development Bank (TRDB), for example, in its first three years and at a time when rural development was increasingly becoming a top priority in Tanzania's development planning, granted 51.2 percent, 42.4 percent and 45.8 percent of its loans to tobacco producers, while livestock, wheat and maize programs and fisheries development received a combined total of 4.9 percent in 1971-72, 15.6 percent in 1972-73 and 22 percent in 1973-74 (Mittelman, 1981:192). Since large farmers and cash crop producers are not evenly distributed throughout the country but are concentrated in a few regions, allocation of rural credit in their favour perpetuates social differentiation in the country and within regions.

Although Mlali and Melela villages are located in Morogoro Region which was considered to be among the high GDP regions in the country (Mittelman, 1981:195), they had neither substantial cash crop production nor a large number of big farmers, and thus they were not well placed to receive rural credit. As such, they would not compete with other villages which had more favourable conditions for being granted rural credit.

Motivation of Development Extension Agents

It is equally surprising to note that, in spite of the emphasis given to rural development by the Tanzanian state, officials travelling to villages are given smaller allowances compared to their counterparts travelling to towns and cities: Given a choice between visiting villages and towns, most officials would rather go to the latter where, after all, they would get more and better social services.

But this is contradictory to the declared intentions and commitment to increasing agricultural production and productivity (Office of the Regional Commissioner, 1984). The motivation of extension agents is further lowered by lack of transport and poor accommodation facilities while working in rural areas (Office of the Regional Commissioner, 1984). The problem of accommodation was so acute in Mlali Village, for example, that some government officials and other workers were forced to live in town about 20 kilometres away. They would go to the village daily by whatever means of transport was available and they often arrived in the village late, and had to leave early for fear of missing transport. As a result, informal dialogues with some officials in the village revealed that some of them would rather work somewhere else.

Under such circumstances, an important implication arises regarding the whole question of the state-peasantry relationship: Working in the villages requires a great amount of dedication to the cause of the peasantry which some state functionaries fail to demonstrate given their class position and their subsequent class function.[14] As a result, they find themselves caught up in a dilemma: to wait until better social facilities are available in the villages or to go there and assist the peasants to improve their living conditions as well as the entire village social infrastructure.

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[14] Although in this chapter, and in the study as a whole, it is this contradiction (between the state bureaucrats, namely the heads of various government and party departments, and the peasantry) which is considered to be the principal one, this was not the only dimension of the social structure of the villages. There were, for example, a few capitalist farmers and rich peasants in each village (constituting about less than 10 percent of the population) who owned more than 10 acres of land. These owned or could hire tractors as well as labour in and outside the villages. Second, there were middle peasants (about 30 percent of the population) who had approximately four acres of land. Although these largely depended on family labour, some of them could also hire tractors and buy fertilizers and insecticides from the cooperative union. Third, there were poor peasants with only about one to three acres of land, who had either to sell their labour to the capitalist farmers and rich peasants, or engage in other petty trading activities like selling ripe bananas, sugar cane and vegetables in the village markets, in addition to working on their small "shambas" (farms) in order to earn a living. These constituted the majority of the population (nearly 50 percent). As a whole, the different social classes had different access to resources as well as to political influence in the villages, in favour of those who were richer.

Political Organization and Leadership Style

Both villages had duly formed village governments as well as party branches and mass organizations. But the chairmen, secretaries and even members of the five committees of the Village Council had been appointed by the village government office (Party Branch Secretary, Mlali, July, 1989). Furthermore, both the party branch committees and the various committees of the Village Council were not regularly meeting as required. The problem was more serious with adult education committees at all levels, as will be shown in Chapter VII. This was partly because, the committee members had many other responsibilities to attend to and also because of a feeling existing among some members that adult education was not a priority (interview with Adult Education Centre coordinators). Under such circumstances, people's participation in decision-making processes emphasized by the party guidelines (1971) and other state policies was greatly minimized.

Above all, as has been noted elsewhere in this chapter, in both villages the tendency toward coercion manifested itself both in practice and in some of the village leaders' statements. Although all of them started by pointing out that education or persuasion was a key to the social and economic problems in the villages, they virtually all ended up citing force, arguing that it was essential to set the villagers in motion. There were some efforts on the part of the party branches to create avenues for people's participation, but there were also indicators of increasing bureaucratization of these mass participatory structures. To this regard, the Mlali party branch was the more problematic partly due to the location of its office: a building which also accommodated all the divisional and ward offices, including the local court. Being so close to the instruments of power, the villagers tended to regard it also as an organ of the state exercising power over them.

Implications for Literacy Training

The description and analysis of the villages was made to discover the extent to which literacy training activities in the villages were brought to bear on adult learners' daily life activities, as well as on the development programs and plans of the villages. Among other things, it has been shown in the chapter that the villages are mainly agricultural communities suited to and interested in growing food crops, notably sorghum. State apparatuses, on the other hand, appear to be interested in the production of cash crops in order to generate the badly needed foreign currency. Given these two conflicting agendas, what is likely to be the role of state sponsored literacy training? Secondly, specific social, political and economic problems have been identified in both villages which need to be resolved in order to improve the quality of life of the peasants. What is the use of literacy in such peasant communities? And, thirdly, there are clear indications of an increasing tension between private capital and public property: How is literacy training addressing this tension? Chapter VII analyses the views of the main actors in the literacy training process at the grassroots level and attempts to answer some of the above questions.

CHAPTER VII

ACTORS' VIEWS ON LITERACY TRAINING: A VILLAGE LEVEL ANALYSIS

> Our past ways of thinking about literacy, describing and defining it have been "outsider" definitions which pre-dispose us to impose purposes for literacy on others. They have also been views that described literacy as free-standing and intrinsically "good," rather than in terms of its varying role within existing communication practices, relationships between people and the institutions of their society where it can have both positive and negative effects. When we take the trouble to discover literacy as it fits in with these contexts and as it feels to potential learners, we get a more realistic view of what motivates people to learn literacy or to resist it. (Hamilton, 1990:7)

This chapter presents and analyzes the views of three categories of actors in the literacy training process (adult education coordinators, literacy teachers and adult learners) regarding literacy training in the context of the daily life activities of adult learners and the development activities of the villages. In order to clearly understand these two main relationships, a number of other related dimensions were explored during field work, namely the origins of the literacy campaign in the villages, the main phases of the campaign, organization of literacy training activities, channels and levels of participation, problems and constraints adversely affecting the progress of literacy training in the villages, and the actors' policy perceptions, particularly their definitions of literacy and their articulation of the goals of literacy training. Throughout the analysis, greater attention is paid to the views of adult learners who are, in the final analysis, the raison d'etre of literacy training activities in the country.

Historical Evolution of the Literacy Campaign in the Villages

Origins of the Campaign

As was pointed out in Chapter II, the Tanzanian state adopted the UNESCO/UNDP's functional literacy model for its literacy campaign throughout the country in the early 1970s. The model[1] was considered by the state to be appropriate in the context of Tanzania: It would give an opportunity to illiterate adults not only to learn how to read, write and count, but also to acquire functional skills and knowledge about socio-economic conditions and their own daily life activities, thereby facilitating social, political and economic development.

The literacy campaign was officially launched in the two villages in 1970, after the Party directed the whole country to eradicate illiteracy in 1975. Given the "decentralized" character of the administrative and organizational set-up of both the government and the party machineries, it was relatively easy to identify those who were illiterate. In this regard, the ten-cell leaders[2] played an important role in not only identifying those who were illiterate, but also those who were dropping out.[3]

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[1] The teaching of reading, writing and occupational training as integrated activities. In this case, literacy training is supposed to utilize an approach which is directly linked to the acquisition of technical skills and knowledge of direct utility in a given environment.

The practice of schooling, however, had hitherto been generally considered by adults to be the preserve of children. Ishumi (1981), for example, noted "the inherent sentiment among the adult population that formal education and 'reading and writing' were for children" and that consequently, the drive against illiteracy in Tanzania "suffered setbacks through absences or even total withdrawal" (p. 87). Thus, both the government and the party launched a publicity campaign in the villages to "educate" the villagers on the meaning and importance of adult education and literacy training.

When adult learners were asked to mention what they considered to be the most important reasons given by the government and party officials for enrolling in literacy classes, 17 of them (77%) mentioned reading and writing. Specific reference was made to reading and writing letters, as well as reading newspapers and various books in order to "fight ignorance," "to acquire more education," "to secure employment in offices" and "to obtain information on the country's policies and plans." More practical and important reasons, from the peasants' perspective, such as learning how to produce more and better food for themselves, or how to build better houses and maintain a healthy environment, or even how to recognize the right prices for their crops, were rarely referred to.

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[2] A ten-cell leader is a person who is elected by all the residents in the ten homesteads and is usually a man or woman who knows all the residents within the area and has some respect, credibility and authority.

[3] Unfortunately, relevant figures could not easily be found largely due to the fact that a number of records were misplaced, lost or altered in the wake of implementing the villagization program of the early 1970s.

Main Phases of the Campaign

In the initial phase of the campaign, there was greater enthusiasm for literacy training among the coordinators, teachers and adult learners. In response to a question on the time when the literacy campaign was at its best in the villages, four adult education coordinators mentioned the period 1970-1975, arguing that:

> 1. . . . the party played a more dynamic role of motivating and mobilizing the masses for literacy training, while the government was providing all the necessary instructional materials (exercise books, paper, pencils, etc.) at no user cost. The government was also providing transport facilities: motor cars to regional and district coordinators; motorcycles to divisional coordinators; and bicycles to ward coordinators as well as to coordinators of big adult education centres and to librarians.
>
> Volunteer teachers were also being paid their honoraria regularly. Honorarium is still being

> provided by the central government but the money does not always reach the teachers. The problem is with the executive directors who, because they do not have adequate funds for various projects, decide to spend the money on other development activities. (Regional Coordinator)

2. . . . the party closely supervised literacy training activities. After the 1975 national literacy test, some people though that the literacy campaign was over. Effort was again made to revive the campaign but, even then, from 1976 onward, workers from other departments, such as party leaders, managers, secretaries, etc., have not been actively participating in literacy training activities. (District Coordinator)

3. . . . teachers were encouraged to attend seminars and to participate in various workshops on adult education and literacy training activities. They were also receiving honoraria regularly. Adult learners, on the other hand, were given all essential learning materials. All these facilities raised the morale of the teachers. (Mlali)

4. . . . teaching materials were available. Remember also that this was the beginning of the literacy campaign at the national level: So, literacy training was considered to be a priority . . . adult learners were still enthusiastic, waiting to see the results of literacy training . . . . (Melela)

Literacy teachers generally shared the views of the adult education coordinators. Five of them, for example, picked 1970-1975 as the period in which literacy training activities were most dynamic because:

1. Many people were anxious to find out what the campaign was all about and therefore their motivation was higher . . . . (Mlali)

2. As the campaign proceeded, especially after 1981, many people knew how to read and began to look down on the whole activity. Those who were given certificates thought that they had graduated from the literacy classes. (Mlali)

3. It was the beginning of the campaign . . . they were anxious to see the benefits of literacy training. Later on they did not see them . . . . (Mlali)

4. Leaders made literacy training a priority. Materials and equipment such as motorcycles and bicycles were provided to the coordinators. Honoraria were also being paid regularly. (Melela)

5. It was the beginning of identifying Tanzanians who had not gone to school . . . . It was also the beginning of the mass drive against illiteracy . . . . Instructional materials and other equipment were abundant. (Melela)

Emerging from the responses are three main factors which contributed to the greater degree of optimism and enthusiasm for literacy training in the period 1970-1975. These were, first, the active role played by the party and government leaders in mobilizing adult illiterates to enrol in and regularly attend literacy classes: Leaders regularly visited literacy classes not only to monitor progress in literacy training, but also to hear from adult learners and teachers about various problems which needed their immediate attention. Referring specifically to Morogoro, Lundquist (1975:139) discovered that personal contacts by the administration, such as visits, were more important catalysts in the growth of adult education in the district than personal contacts such as letters.

Second, teaching and learning resources, such as primers, teachers' guides, exercise books, chalk, pencils, paper, as well as spectacles for those with poor eyesight, were not only available but they were also provided by the state at no user cost. And in order to enable adult education coordinators to visit literacy classes and supervise adult education activities in their areas, transport was provided, namely motor cars, motorcycles and bicycles for the regional/district coordinators, divisional coordinators and ward coordinators, respectively. While this triggered the smooth take-off of the literacy campaign in the beginning, it made adult learners and literacy workers almost totally dependent on the state as far as literacy training materials were concerned.

Third, the provision of honoraria to the volunteer teachers was another important contributing factor to the relative success of the literacy campaign in its early phase in the villages. The volunteers were given 60 shillings per month as honorarium. The amount was certainly not adequate to meet their basic requirements, but it was seen as a token of appreciation for their work.

Implementation and Outcomes

Organization of Literacy Training Activities

As was the case throughout the country, adult education and literacy training activities in Mlali and Melela villages were coordinated by the respective primary school headteachers since the inauguration of the Second Five Year Development Plan (1969-1974). All primary school teachers as well as party and government officials in the villages were also required to teach adult literacy and post-literacy classes, in addition to their regular responsibilities. Furthermore, all institutions and organizations were asked to provide the requisite facilities for smooth running of literacy training activities such as instructional materials, equipment, furniture (tables, chairs, etc.) and buildings where to conduct literacy classes. Table 17 shows the number of literacy teachers in the villages and their sources.

When asked about the contribution of various institutions and organizations in the villages to literacy training, three coordinators had the following to say:

1. The party's main role is to motivate and to mobilize the villagers to enrol in literacy classes as well as to encourage regular attendance. The village government assists in recruitment of teachers and procurement of other resources. Voluntary organizations such as various religious denominations provide voluntary teachers. (District Coordinator)

2. The party mobilizes the masses for literacy training activities. The village government contributes to literacy training by initiating and encouraging various development activities, including education, through its experts. (Mlali)

3. Private enterprises have not contributed much to literacy training. Religious institutions have assisted in explaining the meaning and importance of adult education to their converts, through their sermons and religious publications. (Melela)

None of the coordinators mentioned teaching literacy classes as one of the contributions of the various

Table 17

Number of Literacy Teachers and Their Sources, 1989a

Source	Mlali	Melela
Primary School (professional)	9	12
Volunteers	17	22
Health	1	1
Veterinary	1	1
Agriculture	1	1
Water	1	1
Party	1	1
Cooperatives	1	1
TOTAL	32	40

Sources: (1) Interview with Melela Adult Education Centre Coordinator (26/5/89) for the Melela figures.

(2) Mlali Adult Education Centre Records (July 1989) for Mlali figures.

[a] Figures gathered from various sources did not always agree. This was probably due to the problem of irregular attendance. Interviews with the centre coordinators, for example, showed that the volunteers, in both villages, had virtually dropped out from teaching the literacy classes because they were not receiving their honoraria regularly.

organizations and institutions in the villages. In fact, interviews with literacy teachers in both villages revealed that it was mainly the primary school teachers and the volunteers (in the initial phase of the campaign) who were teaching most of the literacy classes. Nevertheless, progress made in minimizing illiteracy in the two villages, as was shown in Chapter VI (Tables 12, 13, 15 and 16) was commendable, particularly bearing in mind the level of development of the two villages. Table 18 presents the number of adult learners who were awarded certificates in the two villages.

Table 18 indicates that the number of adults in Mlali Village who were awarded certificates in 1986 (248:25.91%) was greater than the number of their counterparts (218:6.25%) in Melela Village. However, Mlali Village had fewer adults (109) who were not awarded certificates (and therefore still pursuing literacy training to eradicate illiteracy) than Melela Village (287). The apparent reverse in percentage (21.87% and 4.61%, respectively) was due to a big difference in population: Melela's population was more than three times bigger than that of Mlali. The results were surprising as far as gender was concerned: In each village, more women were awarded certificates compared to men, while the same was true for those who were not given certificates.

Table 18

Adults Awarded Certificates in Mlali and Melela Villages, 1986

Village	Total Adult Population			Awarded Certificates[a]			Not Awarded Certificates			Awarded Certificates as % of Adult Population			Not Awarded Certificates as % of Adult Population		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Mlali	416	541	957	91	157	248	25	84	109	21.87	29.02	25.91	6.0	15.52	11.38
Melela	1905	1582	3487	88	130	218	79	208	287	4.61	8.21	6.25	4.14	13.14	8.23

Source: Ward Education Office Records, Mlali and Melela, July 1989.

[a] For a breakdown of literacy levels reached, see Chapter VI, Tables 13 and 16.

Channels and Levels of Participation

Adult education committees were formed to assist in supervising literacy training activities in the adult education centres as well as in each literacy class, in line with the overall state adult education and literacy training policy. Table 19 shows the composition of the committees and their functions.

According to Table 19, both adult education committees were under the chairmanship of party leaders which, in a way, is an indicator of the presumed political character of adult education work in the Tanzanian state. There were, however, important differences between the two committees. First, the adult literacy class committee had by far fewer members compared to those of the centre adult education committee. Second, and more importantly, most members of the adult literacy class committee were elected by adult learners while all members of the centre adult education committee were not: They were coopted as leaders or members of the committees by virtue of their positions and functions within the overall state machinery. Third, related to the point raised above, most members of the centre adult education committee belonged to the local "bureaucratic bourgeoisie" and therefore wielded greater power compared to adult literacy class committee members who mainly came from the peasantry: The latter better represented popular forces.

Table 19

Adult Education Committees in the Villages[a]

Committee	Members	Functions
Centre	- Party Branch Chairman (Chairman) - Headteacher (Secretary) - Party Branch Secretary) - Local Counsellor - All heads of government departments - All chairmen of literacy classes - One teacher from each literacy class	- Registration of all illiterates in the area - Select places for holding literacy classes - Regularly visit literacy classes encouraging healthy attendance - Ensure all literacy teachers are teaching as planned - Supervise distribution of literacy training materials - Receive and discuss literacy training reports from literacy class committees - Solve all emerging problems pertaining to literacy training - Initiate ways and means of strengthening literacy training - Meet regularly to discuss progress of literacy training - Report on their activities to party meetings
Literacy Class	- Ten cell leader (Chairman) - Literacy class teacher (Secretary) - Five members elected by adult learners	- Recommend and receive teachers - Supervise literacy training activities for their group - Visit those who are not attending and encourage attendance - Solve problems of adult learners in consultation with ten cell leaders - Solve problems of literacy teachers of their group - Decide on location of classes and time-table - Report on their activities to party meetings - Meet regularly to discuss progress of literacy training

Sources: Interviews with the coordinators of Melela and Mlali Adult Education Centres, 27/5/1989 and 27/7/1989, respectively, on composition of committees.

Ofisiya Elimu Mkoa Morogoro, Mpango wa Kwanza wa Kufuta Ujinga Ki- Mkoa, Mkoa wa Morogoro (n.d.) Mimeo, pp. 19-20, on functions of committees.

[a] The structure and functions of adult education committees were the same for the two villages

In another sense, and notwithstanding their class origins and their class functions, both committees could not be said to be effective channels of popular participation in the villages. For both of them were not meeting regularly enough to be able to adequately cater for the needs and interests of adult learners. The Mlali adult education centre coordinator, for example, said:

> Members of the centre adult education committee come from different offices of the party and of the government. They are supposed to meet at least once every month. But that is simply a structure. In practice, they don't often meet. This year, for example, the centre adult education committee has not met for about six months. In 1988, it met only twice . . . as a whole, it is the primary teachers who do most of the work.

The Melela centre adult education coordinator expressed similar concerns. He said:

> Adult education committees have been duly formed . . . . They should meet at least once a month but implementation has problems. For example, in this year (1989), the centre adult education committee never met from January to May. In the whole year of 1988, it met only twice. Literacy class committees have not reported on their activities. And there is a problem of record keeping . . . .

Interviews with adult learners revealed that 15 (68%) had not been involved in any decision-making processes related to literacy training, in spite of the existence of the adult education committees in the villages. If there was any participation at all, it was mainly in the form of consultation on the more technical aspects of literacy training such as location of classes, time-table and recruitment of teachers. These forms of participation were clearly articulated in the following adult learners' statements from Mlali Village:

1. We simply met the teachers in class.
2. We were not involved in any way. Teachers were brought to us by government.
3. We were asked to recommend a teacher but we had no choice regarding books to read.
4. Teachers were making the decisions. They were appointed by government and we were following what they were telling us.
5. There was no participation. We were given books (cotton) and we were also given teachers.

Similar statements were given by adult learners from Melela Village:

1. Teachers were sent to our village.
2. We were given a teacher to teach us. As students, we did not have any choice.
3. We were involved in the initial phase of the literacy campaign. But now we have stopped. Since 1983, we have not been doing any literacy training activities.
4. We were consulted only in the recruitment of teachers and location of classes.
5. We chose the site of the literacy class ourselves.
6. There was no participation. It was the teacher who was making the decisions.

Although some statements were contradictory, they nevertheless showed that there was no full participation in the more basic issues such as selection of content and mode of delivery of literacy training instruction: Adult learners were not asked what they wanted to learn, how and for what purpose. This was not consistent with the party's policy regarding people's participation as articulated in Mwongozo (TANU Guidelines) of 1971 (in Coulson, 1979):

> For a people who have been slaves or have been oppressed, exploited and humiliated by colonialism or capitalism, "development" means "liberation." Any action that gives them more control of their own affairs is an action for development, even if it does not offer them better health or more bread. Any action that reduces their say in determining their own affairs or running their own lives is not development and retards them even if the action brings them a little better health and a little more bread. (p. 40)

Unfortunately, dialogue with the peasants in the two villages, as will be shown later in this chapter, did not indicate any concrete evidence of literacy training increasing, in any laudable way, either their "bread" or control of their own affairs: The peasants showed that the decision to engage in literacy training was not primarily theirs, that their views were not adequately represented in what should be participatory structures at the village level, and some of them were even questioning the rationale of pursuing literacy training in a situation where problems of survival were becoming critical.

While there were a few peasants who were motivated to learn how to read and write (so that they could read and write their own letters), most of them had the general feeling that the whole literacy training program was superimposed on them by the state which wanted to achieve its own agenda. They were therefore participating in the literacy classes because they had been told to do so by the party and government leaders. At the same time, there were many adult education and primary school teachers who were coordinating, organizing and teaching literacy classes because these were part and parcel of their duties as government employees.

Problems and Constraints

All actors were asked to explain what they considered to be critical problems adversely affecting the progress of literacy training in the villages. Inavailability of instructional materials was considered by all the three categories of respondents to be a critical one. The following statements represented the general views of the respondents:

1. Instructional materials are not readily available. These days adult learners have to buy their own materials such as exercise books, pencils, etc. All these materials are usually budgeted for but adult education coordinators have no control over the money allocated for adult education activities. They are given too little . . . . (Coordinator)

2. Teaching materials are not available as required. This has negative consequences on teachers' morale. And other materials and equipment like sewing machines, which are important for practical demonstrations, are not available either. This makes teaching boring, theoretical and inappropriate for adults. (Teacher)

3. Literacy training was conducted well at the beginning of the campaign. For about four years

> now, we have not seen any literacy training activities in the village. The problem is lack of learning materials: We do not have exercise books, pencils, etc. Those with financial ability can buy them. Some of us cannot . . . in fact, we are failing to buy them even for our children. (Adult Learner)

Although the problem had always existed virtually throughout the country, since the beginning of the literacy campaign in the early 1970s (Hall and Mhaiki, 1971; Mlekwa, 1975; Kirega, 1986; Mushi, 1986), it became more serious when a decision was made in the late 1980s to entrust local governments with greater responsibility over adult education activities in their areas, including the provision of instructional materials such as exercise books, paper, pencils, etc. Given limited funds and coupled with a multiplicity of development plans and priorities, the money intended for adult education instructional materials was often being used to finance other development activities.

All the three categories of respondents also mentioned the problem of agricultural activities coinciding with literacy classes. It was pointed out, for example, that:

> 1. During the agricultural season (November-July), the villagers are preoccupied with agricultural activities rather than with literacy training. (Coordinator)
>
> 2. For about six months, the villagers are fully engaged in agricultural work. They are therefore left with too little time and energy for literacy classes. (Teacher)

3. The timing of literacy classes is inappropriate: Children go to school. Parents go to work on the farms. When they come home, they are all tired. (Adult Learner)

It was perhaps not surprising to note that the majority of adult learners (18:81.8%) mentioned this problem. For the same had been documented in other studies (see, for example, Hall and Mhaiki, 1971) and reflected the gap that often exists between theory and practice in education. Education for Self-Reliance (1967) promised to resolve the contradiction but no full success had been achieved: Many teachers and students continued to draw a demarcation line between intellectual work and manual labour, with a general preference for the former. Saunders (1982), for example, observed the following with respect to integration of theory and practice in Tanzanian education:

> . . . practical action in the form of productive work has retained its subordinate position in the curriculum, although it is given high priority in the context of political "right thinking" and rhetoric. (p. 52)

While students in secondary schools may so desire to pursue academic work at the expense of productive activities, with adult learners, particularly in subsistence economies, it is usually the reverse: They would rather engage in an activity that is likely to solve their practical problems. Thus, any adult education programs which are designed and/or implemented in isolation from the practical life of their clients are not likely to win the admiration of adult learners. As Nyerere (1978:29) advised:

> . . . if adult education is to contribute to development, it must be a part of life--integrated with life and inseparable from it. It is not something which can be put into a box and taken out for certain periods of the day or week --or certain periods of a life. And it cannot be imposed: every learner is ultimately a volunteer, because, however, much teaching he is given, only he can learn. [emphasis added]

Most of the adult learners did not see the significant benefits of literacy training. Dialogues with them revealed that although the rhetoric was "functional literacy," in practice what they learned was simply reading and writing. The latter sounded interesting to the majority of them, but in the final analysis it was not a priority.

Other related problems holding back the progress of literacy training in the villages, which were mentioned by the respondents, were economic hardships forcing both adult learners and teachers to spend too much time looking for essential commodities or "doing an economic project" to subsidize income; delayed or irregular payment of honoraria to teachers[4]; inavailability of spectacles for those with poor eyesight; inadequate support from government (other than the Ministry of Education) and party leaders; literacy training being theoretical rather than practical; inadequate funding; and adult learners thinking that the literacy campaign was over.[5]

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[4] Currently, it is 180 Tz. shillings, which is less than U.S.$1.00. Certainly this amount is too little in view of the high inflation in the country. Thus, literacy teachers in Tanzania are largely volunteers and, as such, they deserve a lot of credit.

Policy Perceptions

Conceptions of Literacy

All actors were asked to explain what (functional) literacy meant to them and how it was operationalized in their area. Adult education coordinators emphasized the broader meaning of literacy and tended to believe that literacy training was an invaluable instrument of promoting social and economic change in society, as can be gathered from the following statements made by three coordinators:

1. Literacy is not simply reading and writing. It also means learning various practical skills related to agriculture, health, family care, etc.

   Usually, those who are illiterate are urged to learn how to read and write. In literacy classes they will read a primer based on one of the crops they grow, such as maize. In the process they will learn modern methods of growing maize and, later, when they grow the crop, they should apply the knowledge which they acquired in the literacy classes.

   Those who already know how to read are encouraged to continue reading so that they can retain and improve their literacy skills. For such people, the emphasis is on learning modern and better methods of agriculture, housing, health, etc. (Regional Coordinator)

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[5] Some adult learners in the villages were equating the national literacy tests, conducted in the country regularly since 1975, with examinations in the regular formal education system (like Standard VII examination) which mark the end of a given cycle in the education system.

2. Literacy is understood to mean reading, writing and counting, plus other development skills in areas such as agriculture, housing, health, food and nutrition, etc. Initially, literacy was mistakenly construed to mean a way of getting a job. Old people did not see the need for literacy training since they would not be employed. After educating them on the true meaning of literacy and adult education, such as ability to count prices of crops, many have now realized the meaning and importance of literacy training and adult education, although they are still harboring the old type of thinking . . . . Unfortunately, people in offices which are not directly involved in education as such do not appear to appreciate the importance of adult education and do not give financial or material support to adult education activities. Primary education is the one that is given greater attention. (District Coordinator)

3. Literacy training is often taken to mean going to literacy classes to read and write. Many people do understand that there are also practical actions in literacy training, such as agriculture and even self-help activities. (Mlali)

Like the adult education coordinators, all literacy teachers mentioned the broader aim of literacy. However, seven of them pointed out the fact that the predominant conception of literacy in the villages was simply reading and writing. Only one teacher from Mlali thought that literacy was mainly operationalized as:

> . . . learning about the environment and how to cope with it. For example, those who are growing tomatoes and various types of vegetables have to know the right kind of soil and appropriate seasons for growing their vegetables. They must also know something about proper spacing of crops, use of fertilizers and insecticides, etc. They learn all this in literacy classes and they think it is useful to know how to read and write.

As most teachers had indicated, the majority of adult learners (18:81.81%) defined literacy purely in terms of reading, writing and counting. Only four adult learners (4 :18.18%) referred to some broader dimensions of the concept, such as knowledge about nutrition, agriculture, health and general improvement of one's quality of life.

Articulation of the Goals of Literacy Training

All actors were asked to explain the main goals of literacy training in Tanzania, in order to find out the extent to which they were understanding the official literacy training policy in the Tanzanian state. Five coordinators responded as follows:

1. The aims and objectives of literacy training are not different from those of adult education. Both adult education and literacy training are intended to help people get rid of their poor living conditions and adopt modern practices such as reading and writing, using modern methods of agriculture (fertilizers, insecticides, modern agricultural equipment, etc.), building good houses and keeping them according to health regulations, adopting good health practices through prevention and cure of diseases as well as eating nutritious food. (Regional Coordinator)

2. Literacy is education of the masses, aimed at helping them to cope with their environment and manage their own lives. There are two important aspects here. First, it is to learn how to read and write in the literacy classes. Second, it is to put into practice what they have learned, be it agriculture, self-help projects or whatever . . . . That is why literacy training is so popular. Many villagers did not know how to read and write. Now they are reading books on various aspects of development. (District Coordinator)

3. Literacy training enables people to read and write their own personal and/or official letters as well as other things regarding their daily life activities. Literacy also helps them understand their environment and various national and international events. It helps them understand the country's policies. (Mlali)

4. Literacy training seeks to educate the "Wananchi" (citizens) on the structure and process of development of the country and of the world. Second, it enables man to communicate with different individuals and societies. Third, it develops man's creativity and innovativeness which is then used to improve the quality of his/her daily life activities. (Melela)

5. The main goals of literacy training are to help people get rid of ignorance which is our main enemy . . . to teach modern methods of growing various food crops and cash crops . . . to teach modern health practices so that the citizen can fully participate in the building of the nation . . . . (Melela)

Literacy teachers mentioned similar goals of literacy training in Tanzania. For those in Mlali Village, the goals were as follows:

1. To impart literacy skills, namely reading and writing, as well as production skills in agriculture, handicraft, etc.

2. To enable students to read, write and count thereby increasing their self-confidence.

3. To eradicate illiteracy and help them understand their environment and how to cope with it. Emphasis is on understanding the environment.

4. To develop reading and writing skills and habits.

5. To ensure that people know how to read, write and count, thereby providing basic education to the masses who did not get a chance to go to school.

Literacy teachers in Melela Village stated the goals and objectives of literacy training in the following terms:

1. Literacy training has the primary objective of teaching how to read, to write and to count--for the benefit of the individual adult learner and the nation.

2. Literacy training seeks to improve the quality of life of the people. It is also aimed at ensuring justice. You know: an educated man will not be cheated--he knows his rights.

3. Literacy training has two main goals. First, to make sure that the nation eradicates illiteracy. Second, to fight against the three enemies of the nation, namely ignorance, disease and poverty. Thus, literacy training in a way minimizes social differentiation and creates conditions conducive to development.

Most adult learners, on the other hand, simply referred to reading and writing as the main goals of literacy training in Tanzania. Only four adults (18.18%) mentioned some broader goals of literacy training, namely acquisition of more education, securing employment and improvement in agriculture, health and nutrition.

Considering all the actors together, it is important to note that although some wider aims of literacy training were referred to, such as improvement in agricultural methods, health and nutrition, living standards and environmental awareness, it was the learning of the 3 Rs which was pointed out by all adult education coordinators, teachers and adult learners (36:100%). Eradication of illiteracy was second (13:36.11%), followed by acquisition of more education (6:16.66%), and the development of communication skills (2:5.55%).

Thus, for the majority of the actors, literacy training was primarily for academic upgrading. In this respect, it was also interesting to discover that no single teacher included anything which could be called "skill upgrading" among the goals of literacy training in Tanzania. Perhaps this was not surprising, given the manner in which literacy training was introduced in the villages and also bearing in mind the political economy of the villages whereby literacy skills, as will be shown in the next section, could be of value but not an immediate priority. As Hunter and Martha McKee Keehn (1985:73) put it, with reference to the worker and peasant education in China:

> Adult educators, especially in the Third World, are justifiably concerned that many of the "nonformal education" programmes that they administer are viewed, both by the participants and by the larger society, as second-rate and second-class education--of value to be sure to the individuals who take part but with little status accruing in the community and worth not much more in the market place.

Policy Impact

Relationship between Literacy Training and the Daily Life Activities of Adult Learners

All actors were asked to give their views regarding the relationship (if any) between literacy training and the daily life activities of adult learners. All adult education coordinators were of the view that the two were closely related. They said, for example, that:

1. Literacy training has been well understood throughout the region. Leaders have been explaining the importance of adult education in various meetings, urging people to follow the advice given by the experts. Now the villagers are following modern methods of agriculture. They have good health and many of them have good houses. Every village has a butcher where villagers can buy meat. And people are going to hospital in big numbers.[6] (Regional Coordinator)

2. Due to the effort made by the party and government to educate the villagers on the broader meaning of adult education and literacy training (occupation skills, ability to read measurements on the weighing scales, etc.), a good number of them are now trying their best to learn to increase their knowledge. There have been some changes such as body cleanliness, house cleanliness, environmental sanitation, proper feeding of children, attending clinical services, sending children to school . . . . They do all these things without being aware that they are all part of adult education (indirect influence of adult education). (District Coordinator)

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[6] The last three statements were not contradictory. The adult education coordinator was underscoring the point that the villagers were increasingly abandoning the practice of going to the traditional doctor for treatment. They were now going to hospitals, which was an indicator of development.

3. The majority of the villagers are agriculturalists, followed by pastoralists. What both of these categories of people read in literacy classes relates to their daily life activities . . . . Agriculturalists use modern methods of agriculture. Pastoralists who are literate take care of their animals better than their counterparts who are illiterate. And, of course, those who are literate know how to keep themselves and their houses in healthy condition . . . . (Mlali)

4. Economically, the villagers have learned various skills needed in their occupations such a agriculture. Culturally, they participate in traditional dances, singing various songs and many other events during literacy week celebrations every year. Politically, some adult learners are members of different committees of the village council and of the primary school. As a whole, those who are literate are more enlightened about life and the world. (Melela)

5. There is a relationship: In literacy classes an adult learner acquires various skills needed in productive activities such as agriculture . . . . A literate person has an enquiring mind, reads, writes and keeps his own document . . . . He keeps his house in healthy condition, etc. (Melela)

All adult education coordinators, therefore, were of the opinion that there was a direct relationship between what adults were learning and what they were doing everyday: In the literacy classes, they not only learned how to read and write, but they also acquired various skills pertaining to agriculture, animal husbandry, health and sanitation, food and nutrition, child care and political education (national and international issues). In the post-literacy classes, they learned more advanced skills in agriculture, handicraft and home economics.

The teachers' perspective was very much similar to that of adult education coordinators. Only one teacher from Mlali Village argued that literacy training was relevant to the occupations of adult learners, but most of them regarded it simply as "passing time." The majority of the teachers (7) were of the view that literacy training was closely related to the daily life activities of adult learners. Some of the statements they made were as follows:

1. There is a relationship: The knowledge which adult learners acquire in the literacy classes enables them to improve their performance in various development activities. (Mlali)

2. In literacy classes, an adult learner reads books which address his daily life activities. (Mlali)

3. The knowledge of counting helps an adult learner to carry out his commercial activities more efficiently. (Mlali)

4. What an adult learner reads in class is what he does in practice. (Mlali)

5. Reading and writing enable an adult learner to read books and write letters, etc., which help him improve his Kiswahili language proficiency. (Melela)

6. Mathematical knowledge enables an adult learner to know his income and expenditure. (Melela)

7. The subject of agriculture enables them to acquire modern methods of agriculture. Knowledge of mathematics helps adult learners to know their incomes and better ways of spending them. Reading and writing skills enable them to read books, newspapers, etc., which, of course, are related to their preoccupations. By so doing, they also improve their Kiswahili language proficiency. (Melela)

More interactions with the teachers, however, revealed that they were generally discussing the effects of a well designed and functioning literacy training program. In other words, they were referring to the potential rather than actual contribution of literacy training to development. In response to a question on the differences (if any) between a literate and an illiterate person, for instance, four teachers argued as follows:

1. A literate person has a better house, uses better methods of agriculture, follows modern health practices, and can educate himself further by reading various papers and books. (Mlali)

2. Illiterate people may have money but lack an understanding of how well to use their money. Literate people are more knowledgeable. (Mlali)

3. There are illiterate people who have a better quality of life compared to those who are literate. It all depends on one's ability. (Melela)

4. A literate person understands better what he is expected to do. However, much more depends on one's ability and not necessarily literacy. (Melela)

Thus, there was no agreement among the teachers as to whether or not being literate made any important difference as far as living standards were concerned. According to most teachers, much more depended on one's own initiative, family linkages and financial capability.

When adult learners were asked to explain the relationship between literacy training and their daily life activities, their views differed greatly from those of adult education coordinators and teachers. Only five adult learners (three from Mlali and two from Melela) pointed to some positive contributions of literacy training, as can be gathered from the following statements:

1. Now I know something about nutrition, sewing, weaving, as well as reading and writing. (Mlali)

2. I have attained some skills in reading, writing, counting and modern methods of agriculture. (Mlali)

3. Literacy training has helped me. Now I can read, write and count. I do not have to ask anybody to read for me. (Mlali)

4. I learned how to write my name. That target has been reached. (Melela)

5. Now I know various things. (Melela)

The rest of the adult learners were generally pessimistic about the benefits of literacy training, as far as they were concerned. Twelve adult learners, for example, argued as follows:

1. I enrolled in literacy classes because I wanted to get employment, to educate myself and to fight against ignorance . . . . We have been reading in the literacy classes and now we no longer see its benefit. We have been dealing with the same things all the time--books, exercise books, paper, pencil and those so-called tests which simply embarrass people: You will see somebody holding a pencil without knowing where to start. Thank God, literacy training is no more. (Mlali)

2. I joined literacy classes to respond to the national call. All Tanzanians were called upon by the government to learn how to read and write . . . education has no end . . . . I am only a farmer, I have no further ambitions. My problem is not to get or not to get anything from literacy training. If I were told to go back to the literacy

classes, my child, I would not be prepared to do so because I am now too old as you can see. (Mlali)

3. I enrolled in literacy classes because I wanted to know how to read. But I have not been able to do so. I am now fifty-five years old. My eyes do not see well and I cannot read. Regarding agriculture . . . we have no problem with agriculture. We continue to cultivate as we have always been guided by God. (Mlali)

4. We were told that literacy training would help us get rid of ignorance . . . we would know how to read and write letters, etc. So, I was anxious to learn how to read and write . . . . While we were attending literacy classes, there was no talk about fertilizers and I did not use them. Now I am using them especially in growing tomatoes. (Mlali)

5. I wanted to know what I did not know. I was not expecting to get employment because of old age. Look, I am now fifty years old. Who will give me a job? (Mlali)

6. I enrolled in literacy classes because my superiors ("wakubwa") told me to and they gave me books to read. Now there are no more books and we do not get newspapers to read. (Mlali)

7. It is difficult to say how literacy training has helped me. Take agriculture, for example: We were told that we would be shown how to use modern methods of agriculture, that we would produce better crops, etc. But we did not learn much about agriculture in the literacy classes . . . the demonstration project we started was nothing but a joke . . . . (Melela)

8. We were told to enrol in literacy classes so that we could learn how to read and write. There was also some talk about agriculture. We read books on the growing of cotton and cashew nuts and political education . . . . No, there was no book on the growing of sorghum. (Melela)

9. Literacy classes were started in 1970. It was compulsory. All who did not know how to read and write had to attend. There was a lot of excitement about literacy training by then. But since we came here (mid-1970s), there have not been any literacy training activities. Literacy training is dead. Many people are now asking: "A child I gave birth to is going to school, how can I also go to school? Who will then do the cultivation?" (Melela)

10. Literacy training was conducted well at the beginning: Ten-cell leaders went from house to house explaining the importance of literacy training. Ward executive secretary was supervising literacy classes. They were all talking about the importance of knowing how to read and write letters, etc. Later on, the excitement subsided. Many people no longer see the benefits of going to literacy classes. They find it difficult to devote two hours on the literacy training days ("siku za kisomo") for reading and writing, instead of working on the farms. And some of us are, in fact, too old. Eyesight is poor; when you read anything tears trickle down. (Melela)

11. Since 1983 we have not been doing any serious literacy training activities. The problem is that agricultural activities coincide with literacy training activities . . . one cannot divide oneself . . . this problem has no solution. (Melela)

12. When I was enrolling in literacy classes, my expectations were high. Leaders were telling us, "You will be employed in offices, you will get salaries, you will produce better crops, etc." Now I can read, but I cannot see any other benefits. (Melela)

These statements reflected the adult learners' expectations and perceptions of the utility of literacy training. While all of them showed that they had learned some rudimentary skills of reading and writing, most of them did not appear to regard literacy training as a priority. Given the manner in which the latter was introduced and implemented in the villages, and in spite of the exhortations of the party and government leaders at all levels, literacy training continued to be equated with regular schooling for children. Hence the feeling that adults were too old to learn and the argument that they would not secure any employment in offices, however well they would have performed in literacy classes.

The problem was compounded by the fact that the literacy training curriculum itself did not address the economic activities of adult learners: In spite of the fact that in both villages the peasants (adult learners) were mainly interested in growing sorghum, which was most suited to the soils and climate of the area and which was their main staple food, they did not use a primer based on the growing of sorghum or any other varieties of millet. Instead, they were given primers on the growing of cotton, cashew nuts and political education.

More interaction with adult learners revealed that although in the literacy classes some reference was made to agriculture, preparation of nutritious food, as well as to weaving and sewing, the main emphasis was on reading and writing. And yet, after observing the adult learners' reading and writing practices, it became apparent that the literacy skills themselves had not been mastered as expected, making it even more difficult for adult learners to see the concrete benefits of literacy training.

These findings must be analyzed in a wider context: In most subsistence economies, adults tend to resist literacy training or any educational program which is not deeply rooted into real life situations (Lindeman, in Knowles, 1988:31, 3rd ed.). Thus, in their study of a literacy campaign in Ethiopia, Sjöström and Sjöström (1983) noted:

> In a life filled with urgent responsibilities, the individual assigns priority to some tasks and considers others as less important. Evidently, schooling does not rank high among the priorities of adults in the sample villages. At the same time, many adults declared it was important for children to attend school. Individuals apparently tend to view education for children in a different way from education for adults.
>
> Rarely did individuals in our study state that they had experienced concrete benefits from their studies. They referred in a vague way to the value of education and to the knowledge that a person misses when he or she does not attend school. According to the interview responses, the most fundamental effect of literacy is the ability to conduct one's own correspondence and to sign one's name. Even if these skills have a personal and status-improving nature, it is evidently not sufficient to convince a majority of adults that attending school is necessary. (p. 183)

Such views differ significantly from those which were expressed by some adult education coordinators and other officials in the villages, which were summarized as follows by one coordinator:

> The people are lazy. They drink too much beer. Time for drinking beer coincides with time for

> literacy classes . . . . . In some places, there is some success, much more depends on leadership.

It did not occur to these officials that the peasants (adult learners) might be, in fact, resisting state education policies which, even though well intentioned, did not appear to have the capacity to transform their living conditions. At best, these kinds of remarks reflected a middle-class bias and the unfortunate tendency among some leaders to blame the people for shortcomings which are not of their own making or which are beyond their control. The next section focuses on the actors' views on the relationship between literacy training and the villages' development activities.

Relationship between Literacy Training and the Villages' Development Activities

All actors were also asked to give their views on the relationship between literacy training and the development activities of their villages.[1] Only one adult education coordinator did not see any direct relationship between the two variables. The rest of the coordinators (5) indicated that literacy training was related to the cultural, political and economic activities of the villages. Three adult education coordinators, for example, argued as follows:

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[1] See Chapter VI for an analysis of the cultural, political and economic activities of the two villages--Mlali and Melela.

> 1. There was a time expectant mothers were forbidden to eat eggs, fearing that they would give birth to bold-headed children. It was even believed by some people that to eat eggs was to adopt foreign customs and that it was because of adopting such foreign practices that there were so many calamities in society, such as floods and drought. But thanks to literacy classes, many people have now realized that eggs are nutritious, they make one healthy.
>
> There were also some who thought that to send sick children to hospital was to go against the wishes of the gods. They believed that some diseases could not be cured in hospitals. Now such beliefs are dying away.
>
> It is literacy training which has helped in eliminating such retrogressive customs and taboos . . . . women are urged to go out to participate together with men in various development activities in the community. There are still some pastoralists who think that sending their children to school will adversely affect their economic prospects. We hope to teach them through literacy classes so that they too can begin sending their children to school in big numbers. (District Coordinator)
>
> 2. Literacy training has created a pool of manpower for various tasks carried out in the village. Some adult learners can now function as secretaries of various committees . . . . The knowledge they have acquired from literacy classes regarding activities, such as agriculture and animal husbandry, helps to increase production, their own incomes and the village's revenue. (Mlali)
>
> 3. Literacy training is all about the development activities of individuals and the community. It is a catalyst of the entire development process. Ability to read and write enables the villagers to read party and government circulars. Knowledge of modern methods of agriculture is vital for increasing agricultural production. Building good houses is an important factor in maintaining good health and without good health people cannot be productive . . . . They learn

> all these things, and many others, in literacy classes. (Melela)

Thus, adult education coordinators were generally of the view that adult learners were being urged, in the literacy classes, to abandon retrogressive customs and beliefs; that they were using their literacy skills in various economic activities of the villages; and that literacy training had enabled them to participate more effectively in the party and government councils/committees. Responding to the same question on the relationship between literacy training and the development activities of the villages, literacy teachers had the following to say:

1. Many villagers are literate. This has facilitated communication in the village. (Mlali)

2. Literacy training has rekindled self-help spirit. Villagers are now participating voluntarily in various self-help schemes such as building roads, digging water trenches, etc. (Mlali)

3. Those who have gone through literacy training have acquired knowledge about various social, political and economic conditions. As such, they are relatively easier to mobilize in implementing the party and government policies. Unfortunately, however, the literacy training curriculum is at times outpaced by the development process in society. (Mlali)

4. The knowledge and skills which adult learners acquire in the literacy classes become an important input in social and economic change, such as proper upbringing of children and raising agricultural production. (Mlali)

5. Literacy training has increased the level of political consciousness in the village. (Mlali)

6. Agriculture, which is the main occupation of most of the villagers, is discussed in literacy classes. Small-scale animal husbandry is also discussed in the literacy classes. So is sewing and weaving. All these activities contribute to the development of the village. (Melela)

7. There is a close relationship: What an adult learner learns in literacy classes is what he does in practice in the village. A literacy class usually begins with a short discussion on the concrete social and economic conditions obtained in the adult learners' homes and in the village. Sometimes adult learners are shown practicality through various demonstration projects such as agriculture, sewing, etc. This is then followed by reading passages from a primer which itself is based on the villagers' preoccupations. (Melela)

8. Literacy training focuses on the village's development activities: Adult learners are informed about things which they are supposed to do for the village. (Melela)

Literacy teachers, therefore, tended to share the views of the adult education coordinators. In summary, they pointed out that literacy training enhanced the development of self-help spirit; that it made it easier for people to implement the party and government directives by imparting them with the requisite knowledge and skills; that literate adults were able to use better methods of agriculture thereby contributing to the process of capital accumulation in the villages; and that through literacy training adult learners were informed about things which they were expected to do in the villages.

When adult learners were asked to give their views on the relationship between literacy training and the villages' development activities, fourteen of them (77.27%)

said they did not know how the two were related, while four (18.18%) simply pointed out that many villagers had been made literate. When asked further to explain how the villages benefitted from the literacy skills acquired, they also said that they did not know.

Only four adult learners (18.18%) pointed to some broader kind of benefits realized from literacy training, as far as the villages were concerned, as can be gathered from the following responses:

1. Literacy training has contributed to the development of political consciousness in the village. Nowadays, people are well informed about the government policies . . . it is not easy to deceive them. (Melela)

2. The village has benefitted from literacy training: Parents who are literate send their children to school. For they know the advantages of education. (Mlali)

3. Many villagers know how to read and write. Thus, it is now easier to have chairmen and other leaders of various village government and party committees. (Mlali)

4. Literacy training has boosted the image of the village leadership before the central government: You see, by ensuring that as many people as possible know how to read and write, the village leadership has earned the political credibility of implementing the party and government policies. (Mlali)

As a whole, therefore, adult learners' views on the benefits of literacy training from the point of view of the village largely differed from those of adult education coordinators and literacy teachers. It was surprising to note that hardly any reference was made to the more basic problems, discussed in Chapter VI, such as those related to agriculture, animal husbandry, health, environmental sanitation, nutrition, water supply and various economic projects carried out in the villages.

Implications for Literacy Training as State Policy

This chapter has presented and analyzed the views of adult education coordinators, literacy teachers and adult learners regarding literacy training in the villages under study. The focus has been on how literacy training was introduced, organized and implemented in the villages, and how the three categories of respondents perceived the state literacy training policy as well as the utility of literacy training in relation to the daily life activities of adult learners and to the villages' development activities.

As a whole, the views of the actors in the literacy training process tended to fit nicely within the theoretical perspective presented in Chapter I. On one hand, the adult education coordinators and literacy teachers seemed to posit literacy training as an agency of social reproduction: From the literacy classes, the peasants were expected to acquire knowledge and skills which would enable them to become relatively more efficient implementors of state social and economic policies, as well as to continue reproducing their own means of livelihood.

On the other hand, the peasants (adult learners) tended, at least indirectly, to use the literacy campaign as a platform of articulating their concerns not only with respect to literacy training but also to other related state policies. There was a general feeling among them that their own agenda was only partially addressed or not addressed at all. Hence the almost total withdrawal from literacy training activities which characterized the mid and late 1980s.

In most cases, the views of the adult education coordinators and those of the literacy teachers tended to coincide and to contradict those of the adult learners. As a whole, the former together referred to the broader dimension of literacy training and were of the view that it was directly related to the daily life activities of adult learners and to the political, economic and cultural aspects of the villages. On the contrary, adult learners generally understood literacy training purely in terms of reading and writing and did not see any immediate connection between the latter and their own daily life activities or those of their villages.

Through observation and interaction with adult learners in various places, including their homes, no concrete evidence of transformation of the lives of the peasants, as related to literacy training, was gathered. It appeared that those who pointed out the positive effects of literacy training were doing so mainly at the level of theorization -- the potential capacity of literacy training to contribute to development under specific conditions. Otherwise, at the level of practice and in the material conditions of the villages, the impact of literacy training was not greatly felt.

Two factors, inter alia, accounted for the glaring discrepancy in perspective among the actors. First, it was differential cultural capital whereby the adult education coordinators and literacy teachers by far surpassed the adult learners: The former were professional adult educators while the latter were peasants with only rudimentary literacy skills. Second, it was class position and class function: In the context of Tanzania, adult education coordinators and teachers were state officials whose primary function was to implement state educational policies. In the process, they were more likely to profess the state educational policy. Being part of the petty bourgeoisie, they represented the interests of their own class, which coincided with those of the state. In that context, literacy training was expected to serve as an ideological apparatus mediating between the state and the peasants and workers (Hirji, 1979), while at the same time resolving any contradictions arising out of gender division of labour as well as religious and ethnic group affiliation.

Related to the point raised above, literacy training did also have a social and an economic rationale. Socially, it was intended to enable illiterate peasants (and workers) to know how to read and write, thereby creating a conducive infrastructure for communication between the citizenry and the state apparatuses. Economically, literacy training was supposed to contribute to the process of capital accumulation at the village level. The state urged the peasants to grow cash crops (cotton) in order to generate more foreign currency required to finance various welfare programs and projects. Subsequently, it designed a literacy training program geared toward the production of cotton and other cash crops. All that was done in spite of the fact that the peasants were mainly interested in the growing of food crops (sorghum) for their own consumption as well as for selling to earn some cash needed to meet their other basic needs.

As was shown in Chapter VI, the peasants had all along resisted the growing of cash crops (cotton and tobacco), regarding them as primarily "government crops." Resistance to cotton growing was apparently extended to the literacy training curriculum which was based on cotton. There was also a general feeling among most adult learners that they were too old to learn and that they would not get a job anyway, however well they would perform in the literacy classes. Above all, there were specific material conditions in the villages which made it difficult for the peasants to consider literacy training as a priority. Two adult education coordinators, for example, observed:

> 1. A few who are development conscious think literacy is useful. But there are many who simply see it as another form of state coercion. There are also others who are asking whether or not they will be given a job at the end of the program. (Mlali)
>
> 2. . . . hard economic conditions have made it necessary for virtually everyone to look for food and other means of survival . . . when it is time for literacy classes, usually in the evenings, some people, particularly women, have to do some petty business such as baking and selling buns. They, therefore, cannot go to classes. (Melela)

Thus, in spite of the impressive literacy statistics shown eloquently on various charts hanging on the walls of the regional, district, ward and village education offices, there had been no substantial literacy training activity going on in the villages for quite a long time. For example, interviews with literacy teachers and adult learners revealed that literacy training activities had come to a near halt in Mlali and Melela villages for about six and four years, respectively. It would appear that adult learners' participation in literacy training activities could not be sustained, particularly in the 1980s, largely because the adult learners had a feeling that the literacy training curriculum was out of touch with their needs and interests as well as with the objective and subjective realities of their villages. This was in turn due to the fact that the adult learners, in spite of being the raison d'etre of literacy training activities, were not actively involved in the formulation of the literacy training policies, the existence of elaborate adult education committees notwithstanding. In addition, both the content and the process of literacy training had not been designed nor conducted to enable the peasants to question the fundamental political and economic conditions upon which their poverty and their illiteracy were predicated. In both villages, there were clear manifestations of increasing private ownership of means of production, contrary to the party's ideology of "Ujamaa." Literacy training did not systematically address that problem.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This chapter presents a summary of the study by reviewing the purpose, the literature surveyed, the research design, the development strategy of the Tanzanian state, education and state in Tanzania, the political economy of the villages investigated, and the views of the adult education coordinators, literacy teachers and adult learners regarding the utility of literacy training in the villages. Conclusions are derived from the findings and policy implications of literacy training are drawn in the context of a critical theory of nonformal education, Tanzania's position in the world system, and literacy training as reproduction and resistance. Toward the end of the chapter, suggestions are provided to policy makers, party cadres, as well as literacy training activists with a view to strengthening literacy training as per original formulation of Education for Self-Reliance.

Summary

Purpose of the Study

This study was intended to find out whether or not literacy training, as designed by the state, related to the daily life activities of adult learners and to the development programs and plans of the villages. Specifically, two main relationships were investigated: the relationship between state literacy training policies and the daily life activities of adult learners; and the relationship between literacy training policies and the cultural, political and economic aspects of the villages. The views of the actors in the literacy training process (adult education coordinators, literacy teachers and adult learners) regarding these two relationships were gathered and analyzed in light of the reproduction and resistance theoretical framework. The latter was considered suitable for the study, bearing in mind the Tanzanian social formation, the type of development strategy evolved and the kind of educational policies adopted, as well as the political economy of the villages under study.

Literature Review

The survey of the literature showed that although literacy did not have any absolute or deterministic role in development, it was nevertheless an essential component of the process of individual and societal development. However, the latter depended on the existence of the following factors, among others: (a) a national commitment to the promotion of mass welfare including expansion and equity in educational opportunities; (b) provision for genuine popular participation in decision-making processes including those related to literacy training; and (c) a dynamic process of socio-economic transformation emanating from state development policies, plans and programs.

The survey also revealed shortcomings in studies on literacy training done at a macro level. At a more global level, there was a general omission of a rigorous analysis of the social formations of the countries studied thus rendering the comparative dimension merely descriptive and subsequently analytically incomplete. At the national level, little effort was made to analyse the political and economic constraints on adult education and literacy training, including the nature and character of the Tanzanian state and the country's social formation which provided the context of both educational policy making and implementation.

District-level studies, and particularly village-level studies, illuminated more clearly the gap between policy and practice in literacy training in Tanzania. For example, literacy training policies were understood differently by different categories of people and the functional literacy skills themselves were not utilized as expected in the peasant communities.

The chapter concluded by emphasizing the need to make the state an object of analysis in any attempt to explain the role of any form of education in development; the need to analyse the social, political and economic implications of literacy training to an individual adult learner and to a village; as well as the need to adopt a more micro scope of analysis if the achievements and problems of literacy training are to be systematically analysed.

Research Design

The study was conducted in two villages of Morogoro Region and utilized a qualitative research approach, which was considered to fit neatly within the general theoretical framework of the study, namely education as social reproduction and resistance. Methods of collecting data were documentary review, participant observation and unstructured interviews, while frequencies and percentages as well as content analysis were used as data analysis techniques.

Development Strategy in the Tanzanian State

An analysis of the development strategy in the Tanzanian state was made in order to define the wider socio-economic context of the study. Tanzania's underdevelopment was accounted for by a combination of historical and structural forces which continue to thwart current efforts at building socialism and self-reliance. In spite of the declared policy on socialism and self-reliance, and notwithstanding many important measures taken by the state to translate its socialist policies into action, Tanzania was not yet a socialist state. In fact, the country's social formation continued to be underdeveloped capitalism.

The neo-colonial character of the state has not been fundamentally altered: Tanzania continues to occupy the same position within the international division of labour as a raw materials producer and an importer of finished products, from industrialized countries, whose prices she does not control. Her economy remains externally oriented, not self-generating, and extremely vulnerable.

In such a context, the state bureaucracy continues to find itself playing an intermediary role between international capital and peasants and workers of Tanzania, whereby it is forced to make alliance in both camps while at the same time being challenged again in both camps: In order to achieve its own interests and also due to the logic of dependency, the state bureaucracy has to ally with transnational capital. But it must at the same time cultivate a populist alliance with a mass base so as to wrest control from international capital with the hope that it will enhance its legitimacy at home.

Education and State in Tanzania

Educational policies formulated in various phases of the evolution of the Tanzanian state were critically examined. Adult education in general--literacy training in particular--was posited within the larger education system. Like the regular education system, the adult education and literacy training sector was geared at serving the same purposes: adaptation in the colonial period; modernization after independence; and self-reliance in the post-Arusha Declaration period. All the phases of development of both society and education were characterized by struggles and tensions among the various competing social classes and institutions. The state, trying to mediate these struggles and tensions, found itself entangled in similar contradictions.

The Political Economy of the Villages

Two villages in Morogoro Region were investigated to explain their geographical and demographic characteristics, their history, their production and material base, as well as the major problems and constraints which were adversely affecting their development. The evolution of the villages was posited within the evolution of the Tanzanian state and implications were drawn for adult education and literacy training in the villages. Such a descriptive analysis was considered to be essential since it provided the immediate socio-economic context of the study. Among other things, it was discovered that:

1. The villages were primarily agricultural communities engaged in a "peasant mode of production" and sustained by a subsistence economy.
2. The productive forces were not fully developed in the villages to enable the peasants to produce enough for their own livelihood: A few rich peasants could hire tractors for cultivation but otherwise, for the majority of the peasants, the hoe remained the dominant instrument of labour while modern methods of agriculture were not fully utilized.
3. The peasants were interested in growing food crops, notably sorghum, for their own consumption and also for selling part of the produce to earn some cash for

buying other essential commodities. The state, on the other hand, was using its apparatuses in the villages to urge the peasants to grow cash crops for selling in the international market to generate the badly needed foreign currency.

4. In both villages, particularly in Melela, two cultures were increasingly coming into conflict: an agricultural culture and a pastoral culture. The agriculturalists complained that the animals of the pastoralists frequently destroyed their crops while the pastoralists were angered by the agriculturalists who prevented them from grazing their animals. State apparatuses in the villages tried to mediate between the two opposing sides, but in the process they increasingly found themselves caught up in the contradictions which they were seeking to resolve.
5. Both villages were established under the rubric of "Ujamaa villages" but a cursory look at the articulation of the modes of production in the villages pointed to an increasing erosion of public ownership of the means of production in favour of more liberalization and privatization. This was an unhealthy trend toward the building of socialism in the villages.
6. Measures were being taken to solve the problems of health and environmental sanitation in the villages, but these were found to be inadequate in view of the

seriousness of the problems, and it was surprising that they were not being fully addressed in the literacy training curriculum.

7. Participatory structures in the villages had been created both under the umbrella of government and the party. Adult education committees, too, had been duly constituted. But these structures were not always used in deciding matters which were important in the lives of the peasants.
8. Related to the point raised above, state apparatuses frequently resorted to coercion, particularly when the peasants were not willing to carry out decisions which they felt were not in their best interest--or at least they were not involved in their formulation.

Actors' Views on Literacy Training

Actors' views on literacy training were analysed to find out from the adult education coordinators, literacy teachers and especially adult learners whether or not they thought literacy training was related to the daily life activities of adult learners and to the development plans and programs of the villages. The findings included the following:

1. Adult education coordinators and literacy teachers generally understood literacy in a broader sense and

subsequently considered it to be an invaluable instrument of social and economic change.

2. Adult learners defined literacy simply as reading, writing and counting. With the exception of four adults, the broader dimensions of literacy training, such as those pertaining to agriculture, nutrition, health and general improvement of one's quality of life, were not mentioned.
3. Most adult education coordinators and literacy teachers mentioned the period 1970-75 as the one in which literacy training was at its best. Contributing factors included active role played by the party and government in mass mobilization for literacy, availability of instructional materials and provision of transport facilities to literacy workers, as well as relatively regular payment of honoraria to the volunteer teachers.
4. While adult education coordinators said there was simply a decline in enthusiasm for literacy training, generally expressed in low attendance rates, adult learners pointed out that there had not been any serious literacy training activities in the villages for as many as six years in Mlali and four years in Melela.
5. Pedagogical, motivational and economic problems adversely affected the progress of literacy training in

the villages. These included inavailability of instructional materials, non-payment of honoraria to volunteer teachers, agricultural activities coinciding with literacy classes, literacy training being too theoretical and less practical, economic hardships forcing both adult learners and teachers to spend more time looking for essential commodities or engaging in some income-subsidizing projects, inavailability of spectacles for those with poor eyesight, inadequate support from government and party leaders, and some adult learners thinking that literacy training was over after sitting for the national literacy tests Above all, most respondents said that adult learners were not seeing the benefits of literacy training.

6. Considering the relationship between literacy training and the daily life activities of adult learners, it was interesting to discover that adult education coordinators and literacy teachers shared the view that the two were directly related, while most adult learners clearly showed that there was no such relationship.
7. Similarly, adult education coordinators and literacy teachers generally considered literacy training to be linked to the development plans and programs of the villages. Most adult learners, on the other hand, were not seeing such a relationship.

8. It was also interesting to discover that although the most important economic activity in both villages was production of food crops (sorghum), the literacy training curriculum was on production of cash crops, especially cotton. There was no single primer which the peasants could read to upgrade their knowledge on the cultivation of sorghum.
9. In both villages, there were clear indications of peasants' resistance to the growing of cash crops, which was apparently extended to literacy training that primarily intended to mobilize them for cash crop production.

On the basis of the findings, the following conclusions are made regarding state-sponsored literacy training in the villages:

1. State literacy training policies were not fully understood by the clients: While functional literacy was intended to impart to adult learners not only literacy skills but also skills and functional knowledge about their daily life activities, it was literacy skills per se which received the greatest attention both by the literacy activists in the villages and by adult learners.
2. Adult learners were not always willing to pursue literacy training because they felt that the latter did not relate to the daily life activities which they

cherished. Instead, it focused on the growing of cash crops (cotton) which was not popular as far as they were concerned.

3. Literacy training was also seen by adult learners as not being directly linked to the political, cultural and economic aspects of the villages. As such, therefore, they felt that it was not making any significant contribution to capital accumulation in the villages.
4. Since adult learners were of the view that literacy training was irrelevant to their main occupations and also that it was not related to the plans and programs of the villages, it can be generalized that literacy training did not strengthen state legitimation as it was supposed to.
5. Literacy training did not provide a moment for a critical reflection on what was happening in the villages, especially with respect to ownership of the means of production and the ensuing relations of production: Adult learners, for example, were encouraged to hire privately-owned tractors in the villages for cultivation rather than being asked to find ways of repairing and maintaining the tractors owned by the village governments, or ensuring that the village government shops were re-established and never allowed to run out of business.

6. Literacy training also did not create a forum for popular participation: Adult learners were not involved in the formulation of policies, nor were their views adequately represented even in the adult education structures themselves, since they were not meeting regularly.
7. It would appear, then, that literacy training reflected mainly the needs and interests of the state, especially capital accumulation needed for financing its welfare programs, including education. As a whole, it was another form of state intervention in peasant production. And what is at stake is not whether or not that intervention was essential but, rather, whose interests did it serve?

Implications

Theoretical Implications

The findings of the study indicated first and foremost that adult learners understood literacy differently from its official version. It could be generalized that many factors accounted for this discrepancy in perspective, including the manner in which literacy training was introduced and implemented in the villages, the extent to which adult learners were involved in the formulation of literacy training policies, the accumulated knowledge and experience of adult learners regarding educational policies and practices in the villages, articulation of the modes of production in the villages and its linkages with literacy training, as well as leadership style and configuration of power in the villages.

Second, it was generally felt that apart from enabling them to know how to read and write, literacy training had almost no impact on either their daily life activities or the development programs and plans of their village. This raises an important implication regarding the capacity of adult education and literacy training to transform individuals and societies. As was pointed out in the literature review, literacy training may be a necessary factor in social transformation, but when pursued alone in isolation from other transformations in society, it is by no means a sufficient condition. At times it can end up diverting scarce resources from the more critical development priorities.

Third, the findings also revealed contradictory views on literacy training. While adult education coordinators and literacy teachers were generally positive about the effects of literacy training, the adult learners were of the view that literacy training, as implemented, had almost no impact on their lives. One implication of these divergent views is that literacy training, like all other forms of education, is usually an arena not only of disseminating knowledge and skills, but also of articulating competing interests as shaped by a number of factors including class position, class function, distribution of power, etc.

Fourth, the state-sponsored literacy training program sought to provide a moment for the peasants to learn the skills of reading, writing and counting, as well as agricultural skills, particularly those needed for increased production of cash crops (cotton). The state intervention in peasant production would result in more incorporation of the peasants in the world economic system, given the network of dependency within which the Tanzanian state was still entangled. In this case, literacy training would provide a conjunction between the peasants of Tanzania and international capital.

Fifth, related to the point raised above, the state sought to use literacy training as an agency of social reproduction, to the extent that the peasants would continue to produce and to reproduce themselves. However, the goal was only partially reached as that literacy training did not succeed in imparting the requisite production techniques for both complex reproduction and increased capital accumulation to occur. The findings, therefore, are an eye opener to the whole notion of adult education and literacy training as social reproduction.

Sixth, literacy training was also designed and implemented by the state as one of its welfare or distributional programs aimed at generating more state legitimacy both at home and abroad. But since the target group--adult learners--thought that literacy training did not help them solve their concrete problems and therefore it was of little benefit, literacy training to some extent became a platform of resistance expressed in various forms, including non-participation in literacy classes or in cotton production, which literacy training was all about.

It is striking to note that in Tanzania, a country widely praised for both the extensiveness and economic/political/social relevance of its adult literacy programs, participants in literacy classes (at least in the two villages studied) should understand what they were learning first to be limited to basic reading, writing, and numeracy skills and, second, to have neither significant connection to nor beneficial influence on their daily lives or future prospects. While more empirical investigations are needed to generate a clearer understanding of this phenomenon, at least a tentative explanation can be given in light of the findings of this study as well as what is generally known about post-colonial peasant societies.

Education in such societies tends to be regarded as "a preparation for the work force whereby individuals acquire skills and present themselves for selection"

(Jones, 1984:13). Related to this point, education is also viewed as a vehicle through which individuals can change strata in society (Jones, 1984). In either case, even though the peasants (particularly the more elderly ones) may see some possibility of improving their social status through education (intra-generational mobility), most of them, and especially bearing in mind the limited resources available, would rather strive hard not to educate themselves as such but to ensure that their children receive some education which will enable them to obtain a better quality of life (inter-generational mobility). Thus, the point may not be that the peasants do not see the importance of reading and writing, but that they think the activities are more appropriate for their children.

The problem was further compounded by the fact that many literacy classes were organized and taught in primary schools. Although the choice of primary schools was a logical one, given their distribution throughout the country, as well as the teaching-learning facilities that they had compared to other institutions in the community, the location of adult literacy classes within these premises led many adult learners to associate adult literacy training with formal (primary) education. One should also remember that even the teaching-learning resources themselves, in these primary schools (including the teachers) were more suitable for children than for adult learners. Hence the feeling among most adult learners that they were too old to learn.

Above all, the literacy training curriculum was not integrated with the practical daily life activities of the adult learners. In a situation where problems of health, nutrition, declining agricultural productivity and increasing inability to obtain the basic necessities of life were becoming more critical, adult literacy training, however well intended it was, tended to be regarded by most peasants and even teachers as an extra load to shoulder. This raises important implications regarding organization and administration of adult literacy training programs: When and how is it most appropriate to organize a literacy campaign? And under what specific conditions can literacy training be most fruitful?

As was pointed out in the literature review, adult literacy training, particularly in Third World societies, cannot achieve the best results if there is no general commitment to the promotion of mass welfare, dynamic process of socio-economic transformation in society, and genuine popular participation in decision making. It would appear that while the first two conditions have been met to an important extent in Tanzania, the latter has tended to be only assumed, especially with respect to literacy training: Adult learners have not fully been involved in the formulation of the literacy training policies and programs and, partly because of that, the curriculum as a whole has remained out of touch with the needs and interests of adult learners, as well as with the local context.

Practical Implications

In view of the findings and the theoretical considerations, the following practical implications are drawn for policy makers, party cadres and literacy training activists:

1. A mechanism be found for enhancing a greater number of people's participation in decision-making processes related to adult education and literacy training. This participation should be sustained throughout the planning, implementation and evaluation phases of policy making. While the existing adult education committees have played an important role, particularly in the early phase of the literacy campaign, one fears that they are too big and too diversified in terms of membership to be effective. Smaller, nucleus groups, comprising of literacy training activists and party cadres chosen by adult learners themselves would probably be less bureaucratic and would better represent the views of adult learners.
2. Linked to the point raised above, there is a need to strengthen the involvement of mass organizations such

as the Umoja wa Wanawake Tanzania (UWT), Tanzania Parents Association (TAPA), National Union of Tanzania Workers (NUTA) and the Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) Youth League. As was the case in Nicaragua, China and Cuba, these mass organizations can play a vital role in mobilizing and motivating their members as well as other people for literacy. While in Tanzania these mass organizations have made a contribution to adult education and literacy training, their impact has largely been limited to the national level. One would like to argue that it is at the grassroots level where much of their work is needed, both in literacy training and in other development activities.

3. While literacy training is considered by the state to be an important factor in development, the linkages between the same and the regular system of education are not clearly stated. In other words, literacy training is not in the real sense second chance learning for particularly the younger adults as it does not necessarily enable its graduates to enter the regular system of education or the labour market. This deficiency partly contributes to adults not valuing literacy training as such. It is suggested that literacy training be more clearly linked with educational institutions such as the folk development

colleges (FDCs) and, in turn, be linked with the regular system of education and the labour market.

4. More integration is needed between literacy training and the daily life activities of adult learners, as well as with the development plans and programs of the villages. One way of ensuring this integration is by incorporating adult education methods into the training curricula of extension agents (agricultural, health, cooperatives, etc.) to enable them to know how to handle adults while carrying out their regular work in the villages. At the same time, it is important to make sure that the development plans and programs of villages include a training dimension and also that some literacy primers be based on those plans and programs. In this case, adult learners themselves, in collaboration with the extension agents and literacy training activists in the villages, should have a greater input in the writing of those primers.

Research Implications

The findings raise a number of implications for further research. Indeed, if this study were to be done again, one would like to address the following questions, among others:

1. What would adults like to learn in the villages and in what way?
2. How can adult learners best be involved in policy making related to literacy training at the village level?
3. What conditions are most conducive to literacy training for development?
4. What kind of adult education and literacy training is most appropriate for the pastoralists?

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APPENDIX A

DOCUMENTATION GUIDE
(Description of the Villages)

DOCUMENTATION GUIDE

(Description of the Villages)

1. **Village Status**

    a) Type of village
    b) Location of the village
    c) Registration status
    d) Number and size of households
    e) Population by gender, age and occupation

2. **History of the Village**

    a) When the village was formed
    b) How the village was formed
    c) Key personalities in establishing the village
    d) Major historical events

3. **Economic Activities**

    a) Production activities (food crops, cash crops, commercial activities, animal husbandry)
    b) Relations of production: Relations between the peasants and the village leaders in organizing and implementing development activities
    c) Current and future development plans
    d) Major problems constraining development
    e) Measures taken to solve the problems

4. **Political Aspects**

    a) Political organization and leadership (local government structure, party structure)
    b) Channels of people's participation in decision making
    c) Conflict and conflict resolution in the village

5. **Educational Facilities**

    a) Institutions and resources
    b) General levels of education
    c) Major educational problems and their resolution
    d) Adult Education and literacy training activities:
        - Enrolment in literacy classes
        - Attendance in literacy classes
        - Enrolment in post-literacy classes
        - Attendance in post-literacy classes
        - National literacy test results
        - Supporting literacy training programs/projects

e) Adult learners' participation in decision-making processes related to literacy training:
  - Committee structure and composition
  - Adult learners' involvement in the committee meetings
  - Issues discussed in the meetings and their relevance to adult learners' problems, needs and priorities

APPENDIX B

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION GUIDE

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION GUIDE

Approach

The researcher will identify himself as such, interact with the subjects in their natural settings, but making no pretense of actually being a participant [Babbie, E. (1986), The Practice of Social Research, 4th ed. Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Co.].

Utilization of Literacy and Functional Knowledge

1. Correspondence

(a) Writes letters to friends, relatives, to others
(b) Writes a letter for someone else
(c) Reads letters from friends, relatives, and others

2. Record Keeping (personal)

(a) Keeps records of family events
(b) Keeps work/business/financial records
(c) Keeps legal records
(d) Completes forms

3. Technical Plans/Diagrams

(a) Draws or uses land plans
(b) Draws or uses house plans
(c) Draws or uses farm plans
(d) Draws or uses plans/diagrams for various projects

4. Literary and Historical Material

(a) Uses/keeps diaries, calendars
(b) Writes/reads stories, poems
(c) Writes/reads historical accounts (important events)

5. Religious Purposes

(a) Has/reads a prayer book
(b) Has/uses hymns
(c) Has/reads Bible/Qur'an
(d) Buys/reads a religious newspaper/newsletter

6. General Reading

(a) Reads advertisements
(b) Reads various books for pleasure or for information
(c) Checks exercise books and home assignments of his children
(d) Borrows books from the rural library

7. Village Business/Activities

(a) Keeps/writes/reads minutes of village meetings
(b) Keeps/reads records of important decisions made
(c) Keeps/designs advertisements for meetings and other important events in the village
(d) Serves as a secretary in a village committee

8. Reading/Writing for Others

(a) Asked by other people to read for them
(b) Asked by other people to write letters and other documents for them
(c) Asked by other people to interpret certain drawings/diagrams/technical plans for them

9. Teaching Reading and Writing

(a) Teaching others to read and write
(b) Helping children to read and write

10. Application of Functional Knowledge

(a) Reads instructions before using fertilizers/insecticides
(b) Reads various booklets on modern methods of agriculture and animal husbandry
(c) Seeks more technical information from the agricultural and health extension agents
(d) Follows specified instructions for using various drugs
(e) Applies knowledge gained in functional literacy classes in his/her own home environment (e.g. house cleaning, child care, food and nutrition, etc.) and on the farm (e.g. using fertilizers, insecticides, proper seeds, proper spacing of seeds, well timed harvesting, and other modern methods of farming).

APPENDIX C
INTERVIEW GUIDES:
Adult Learners
Literacy Teachers
Adult Education Coordinators
Village Elders, Party and Government Officials

INTERVIEW GUIDE:

Adult Learners

A. Personal Information

1. Name
2. Sex
3. Age
4. Village
5. Occupation

B. Policy Perceptions

6. What does functional literacy mean to you?
7. What, in your opinion, are the main purposes of literacy training in Tanzania?
8. When you were enrolling in literacy classes, what were you told by the party or government leaders were the reasons for doing so?

C. Policy Implementation

9. Have you and other adult learners ever been involved in decision-making processes related to literacy training (e.g. timing and location of classes, choice of type of reading material, selection of instructor, designing of a demonstration project, etc.)?
10. Which problems, if any, hold back the progress of literacy training in this village? What should be done to improve it?
11. What assistance is usually rendered by party and government leaders in this village regarding literacy training?
12. What comment do you have to make regarding the way in which literacy training has been conducted in this village?

D. Policy Impact

13. What were your expectations when you were enrolling in literacy classes? Have those expectations been fulfilled?
14. Has literacy training helped you in your daily life activities? If yes, how has it helped you?
15. How do you think the village as a whole has benefitted from literacy training?

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Literacy Teachers

A. Personal Information

1. Name
2. Address
3. Sex
4. Age
5. Education (highest level attained)
6. Training in adult education (specify)
7. Status
8. Work experience (as literacy teacher)

B. Policy Perceptions

9. What in your opinion are the main purposes of literacy training in Tanzania?
10. How has functional literacy actually been operationalized in this village?
11. What is, therefore, the predominant conception of literacy among adult learners, adult education coordinators and in the community as a whole?
12. How do the people perceive the state given the manner in which literacy training has been designed and implemented?

C. Policy Implementation

13. When was the literacy campaign at its best, as far as this village is concerned: 1970-1975?; 1976-1981?; 1982-1987? Give reasons for your choice.
14. What kind of problems hold back the progress of literacy training in this village?
15. What kind of assistance do you get from the party and government leaders in the village?
16. How have adult learners in this centre been performing in the national literacy tests?
17. What is your opinion regarding the way in which literacy training activities are carried out in this village? What should be done to improve them?

D. Policy Impact

18. How does literacy training relate to the adult learners' daily life activities?
19. How does literacy training relate to the cultural, political and economic aspects of the village?
20. Are there any fundamental differences between a person who has graduated from literacy training and his/her counterpart who never attended literacy training? If yes, what are the differences?

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Adult Education Coordinators

A. Personal Information

1. Name
2. Address
3. Sex
4. Age
5. Education (highest level attained)
6. Training in adult education (specify)
7. Position
8. Work experience (as coordinator)

B. Policy Perceptions

9. What in your opinion are the main purposes of literacy training in Tanzania?
10. How has functional literacy actually been operationalized in this region/district/ward/village?
11. What is, therefore, the predominant conception of literacy among adult learners in this region/district/ward/village?
12, How do the people as a whole perceive the state given the manner in which literacy training has been designed and implemented?

C. Policy Implementation

13. What has been the response of the people in this region/district/ward/village regarding literacy training as a whole?
14. What has been the role of adult learners in the designing of literacy training activities in this region/district/ward/village?
15. When was the literacy training campaign at its best, as far as this region/district/ward/village is concerned: 1970-1975?; 1976-1981?; 1982-1987? Give reasons for your choice.
16. Which problems, if any, hold back the progress of literacy training in this region/district/ward/village? Which measures have been taken to solve those problems?

17. What contribution to literacy training has been made by the party, government, private organizations and voluntary agencies in this region/district/ward/village?

D. Policy Impact

18. How does literacy training relate to the adult learners' daily life activities?
19. How does literacy training relate to the cultural, political and economic aspects of the village?
20. Are there any fundamental differences between a person who has graduated from literacy training and one who has never attended literacy training? If yes, what are the differences?

E. General

21. Are there any illiterate adults in this region/district/ward/village who have never enrolled in literacy classes? What reasons do they give for not enrolling?
22. Are there any graduates of the functional literacy programme (1983) who have not enrolled in the post-literacy classes? What reasons do they give for not enrolling?

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Village Elders, Party and Government Officials

1. How long have you lived in this village?
2. Where else have you lived before?
3. What is the furthest place to which you have travelled?
4. When was the village established, i.e. as a permanent village or as an Ujamaa village?
5. How was the village established: Was it transformed into its present state from an existing one or is it a completely new settlement?
6. If you were initially living somewhere else, and then moved to this place, how were you moved and what reasons were you given for moving to this place?
7. How do you compare this village to the one where you were before in terms of development potential and leadership value?
8. What events do you recall which were of historical significance to the village?
9. What kind of problems have you been constantly facing in the village and what measures have you taken to solve them?
10. What have you been traditionally doing to earn a living?
11. What kind of economic activities are you performing now and who initiated them? What else would you like to do?
12. Is the village well known for cooperative endeavours? I would like to know more about the various communal activities.
13. Are there any special problems that you face in carrying out those activities? What kind of assistance do you received from: (a) the party; and (b) the government leadership in the village?

14. How would you describe the general relationship between the state organs and the people particularly in the course of implementing state policies?

15. What has been the general trend regarding:
    - Rural-urban differentiation?
    - Income distribution patterns in the village?
    - The gap between the rich and the poor in the village?

16. How was adult literacy training introduced in the village: What methods were used (and are still being used) to enrol people in literacy classes and to sustain regular attendance?

17. How have the people as a whole responded to the party and government literacy training policies?

APPENDIX D

LITERACY LEVELS IN TANZANIA

LITERACY LEVELS IN TANZANIA

In the Tanzanian context, literacy levels I to IV are defined as follows:

Level I

A participant who has enrolled but must have attended two-thirds of the literacy sessions in any one year of literacy activities.

Level II

A participant who has already qualified for Level I above, but who has also successfully passed one or both tests for the following sub-levels:

Sub-level (i): A person who is able to recognize words and/or symbols, write the letters of syllables, write numbers and/or arithmetical signs including mental calculations.

Sub-level (ii): A person who is able to read a short, simple, meaningful sentence, who is able to write a simple, short sentence and who can add and subtract a one-figure sum.

Level III

A person who has already qualified for Level II above, but who has also successfully passed one or both tests for the following sub-levels:

Sub-level (i): A person who is able to read a short, simple, meaningful sentence, who is able to write a simple, short sentence and can add and subtract two-figure sums.

Sub-level (ii): A person who shows mastery over symbols in their written form, or is able to encode and decode written messages. Such a person should be able to read fluently a simple text with understanding (the text itself being based on common syllables and vocabularies in functional primers and according to the most frequent syllables and vocabularies used in the Swahili language). He/she should be able to write a simple, short message or passage; to add and subtract three-figure numbers; to multiply two-figure numbers; and to divide by one figure.

Level IV

A person who continuously uses the acquired literacy skills. Such a person should have already qualified for Level III above, but should also be able to read and write messages; to read a newspaper in order to keep up with current events and obtain information; to read "How to do it yourself" books, short books on better ways of farming, etc.; to keep records; and solve simple arithmetical problems. He/she should also be able to keep a simple book of accounts on income and expenditure.

Participants who achieve Levels III and IV in reading, writing and arithmetic taken together are considered as literacy graduates, while whose who achieve Level IV are considered in addition to be functionally literate.

Source: Mpogolo, Z.J. (1990). A nationwide literacy campaign: The Tanzanian experience. Geneva: UNESCO, International Bureau of Education.

APPENDIX E

RESEARCH CLEARANCE

THE UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM

Ref: No. AB 3/3(B)

Date: 17th March, 1989

Ndugu: Regional Development Director,
Moregoro Region

UNIVERSITY STAFF AND STUDENTS RESEARCH CLEARANCE

The purpose of this letter is to introduce to you ~~Prof.~~/~~Dr.~~/Mr./~~Mrs./Miss/~~ ~~Ms~~ V. M. Mlekwa who is a/~~are~~ Bonafide academic member~~(s)~~ of staff/~~Student(s)~~ of the University of Dar es Salaam and who is/~~are~~ at the moment in research. Our staff members and students undertake research activities every year during the vacations. In accordance with the Resolution of the then T.U.C at its meeting held on the 11th March, 1972 (Min.9/71/VI), University staff and students were granted general permission to carry out research. The University administration was empowered by that resolution to give clearance at its discretion to its staff and students.

We request therefore to grant the above mentioned member~~(s)~~ of our University community and help that may facilitate his/~~her/their~~ research objectives. All the living and travel expenses for the research project have been provided for by the University, the only required is your permission for him/~~her/them~~ to see and talk to the leaders and members of your institution in connection with his/~~her/their~~ research.

The title of the research in question is: Litercy Training, the State and Development in Tanzania: A study of Policy and Performance, 1967 - 1989.

The period for which this permission has been granted is from March to July, 1989 and will cover the following areas:

Moregore Region

Should some of these areas be restricted, you are requested to kindly advise him/~~her/them~~ as to which alternative areas could be visited. In case you may require further details/information, please contact us through the telephone No. 49192 - 8.

Yours sincerely,

G.R.V. Mmari
VICE-CHANCELLOR

VICE-CHANCELLOR
DAR ES SALAAM

[illegible]/mr.

19/4/89

R.10/30 Vol.IV/143

Mkuu wa Wilaya,
S.L.P. 681,
MOROGORO

KIBALI CHA KUFANYA UTAFITI NDUGU V.H. MLEKWA

Mtajwa hapo juu Mhadhiri toka Chuo Kikuu D'Salaam. Amefika hapa Mkoani anataka kufanya utafiti kuhusu masuala ya Elimu ya Watu Wazima na Maendeleo. Vijiji alivyopendekeza ni Mlali na Melela.

Mkoa hauna kipingamizi na Utafiti huo, tafadhali namleta kwako kwa kibali na msaada wowote atakaohitaji.

S. Chekani
Kny: MKURUGENZI WA MAENDELEO MKOA
MOROGORO